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Preface

114 In the spring of 1937 a joint commission for the investigation of the Li and Miao of Hainan Island was organized by the Department of Liberal Arts of the Graduate School, National Sun Yat-sen University of Canton, and the Institute for the Study of the Societies of Southwest China at the privately operated Lingnan University. Dr. Yang Ch'eng-chih, a professor at the National Sun Yat-sen University led this commission, of which I was one of the members. It was indeed a happy circumstance in my life that just after an expedition to Yao-shan in the Pei-chiang area in Kwangtung province, I had another opportunity for a firsthand investigation of these peoples of the Southwest. (In the winter of 1936 I had participated in the expedition to Yao-shan in the Pei-chiang area of Kwangtung, which was organized by the Department of Liberal Arts of the Graduate School, National Sun Yat-sen University.) As I am a native of Hainan and understand the local dialects, I was instructed to stay in the Li and Miao region for a longer period with Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung of Lingnan University. I was especially gratified to have this opportunity to make more detailed observations.

Not long after our return from the expedition, the Marco Polo Bridge incident occurred on July 7. The program of editing and printing the commission's report was to a great extent affected by wartime uncertainties in South China. Now over a year has passed, and it has not yet been carried out. The original purpose of our investigation
121 was, on the one hand, to open up a new field for academic studies in China with some new material; and, on the other hand, to provide our government and the public with more information concerning our frontier peoples in the hope that it would help them to understand the frontier situation and to carry out administrative operations there.
114 Since both objectives are extremely important, the Chinese intellectual community as well as the public must be anxiously waiting for the results of our studies. It is very regrettable that our report cannot yet be published. Because I had stayed there and conducted my investigation

M /ii cont'd/
114 for a comparatively longer period and had collected more material,
I obtained special permission from the chief of our commission to
use the materials in my private possession in writing up two books:
Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of
M the Li of Hainan Island/ and this small volume entitled Hainan Tao
H Chih Miao-jen /The Miao of Hainan Island/.

122 /iii/ We spent four months on this expedition—leaving Canton
114 on February 4, 1937, and returning to the University on June 4 of
the same year. Excluding the time spent in traveling and a short
delay caused by illness, we were actually in direct contact with the
aborigines for more than two months. During these two months or
so, we spent about three-fourths of the time in the study of the Li
H and only one fourth in the study of the Miao. The reason for this
[101] was very simple: the Li were the chief aboriginal people of Hainan,
and also Hainan was the only native locale of the Li people. It can
truly be said of the Li people: "This is the only establishment;
there are no other branches!" It was hence wholly fitting that we
made them the chief subject of our studies. The study of the Miao
was only incidental. Since our working time was so short, our investigation
of the Miao was limited to a group of Miao villages in
the vicinity of the Ta-ch'i area of Pao-t'ing hsien /district/. This
book is the result of a study of this small area within a short period.
The contents of this volume, of course, are far from satisfactory.
Fortunately, however, we have touched upon every phase of the
Miao's life. By reading this book, the reader will have no difficulty
H in comprehending the general way of life of an individual Miao.

M
101 The Li and Miao have lived intermingled for several centuries.
With this uninterrupted contact with each other, it was inescapable
that they mutually influenced each other. Furthermore, the lives
of both have progressed along a common road of sinicization.
Therefore, it can be observed everywhere that the present ways of
M life and cultural patterns of the Li and Miao are identical in many
114 ways. To avoid repetition, I have only summarized in this book
[128] those points which I have already discussed in detail in my previous

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114 book, Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao. If the reader is not [128] bored by details, it would be better for him to refer to these two books at the same time. This is my humble hope.

If this book has made any academic or social contribution, the credit should not go to the author alone; it belongs to all the members of our commission (a list of the members of our commission is printed in the Appendix, "Journal of the Investigation").[2] I, myself, must express my gratification and, even more, my thanks to those others who have allowed me to write out what was the collective work of all of us. /iv/ The one to whom I am especially obliged, however, [164] is Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung. In that uncivilized region infested with malaria, where other people usually fear to go, we lived close together for a long time. We "comforted each other for the same kind of sickness" (actual physical sickness) and were of assistance to each other. To assuage our loneliness, we sometimes talked far into the night with our beds set next to each other. This experience will leave an indelible impression upon me for the rest of my life.

121 I have always been of the opinion that ethnology is not only a branch of pure science but also a practical study. We ethnologists should present the results of our studies not only to the academic world but also to our people and our country. In other words, we hope to offer some contributions toward the solution of our frontier problems. The last chapter of this was written for this purpose. Everything discussed therein concerns the most practical problems which are very important for the future development of Hainan Island. I should feel greatly honored if my writing could draw the attention of our government and the public to working out a proper solution.

Wang Hsing-jui
Graduate School
National Sun Yat-sen University

July 22, 1938

/125 cont'd/

H M 648 feel happy about accepting Chinese culture. This is the only effective and natural way to improve the relationship between the two peoples. To achieve this purpose, the development of education for the Li and the Miao is the only means.

M 636 178 During the period from 1933-34, when Ch'en Han-kuang was appointed as administrator in the Li area, he successfully enlisted the support of the two minority peoples. They still think of him even today. This achievement was not purely accidental. He really did something constructive to improve intergroup relations. He respected them, treated them with sympathy, extended justice to them, and helped them to establish schools and other autonomous institutions. He selected a number of their children and sent them to school with government scholarships. He also led a group of their people to visit Canton. All these were unprecedented honors for the Li and the Miao. It was very natural that they were grateful. This was particularly true of the Miao, who had always been exploited by other people. When they were now treated with such care by government officials, it was natural that they were inspired by the honor and submitted to the government without reservation. The photographs that Ch'en gave them still hang on their walls. With how much respect they think of Ch'en can be judged by this single gesture. In improving the attitude of the Li and Miao toward the government, /126/ Ch'en accomplished his mission, but that was all. As to the improvement of intergroup friendship so that the three cultures might be unified permanently into one, Ch'en could not achieve this by his individual ability alone.

M 114 Finally, I have to point out particularly that the basic requirement for improving our intergroup relations is to change our traditional attitude toward the Li and Miao. Scorn must be replaced by sympathy; differentiation must be replaced by unification. If the basic idea is wrong and our motives are not honest, no remedy can be worked out.

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Postface

●114 This small volume and my other book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, which contains more than 200,000 characters, were both written in the summer of 1937 in Canton after I had returned from a field trip to the Li area on Hainan Island. The two may be said to be sister works, which I had originally planned to publish simultaneously.

However, not long after I had finished the writing, the war of resistance against the Japanese broke out and spread vigorously; Canton was soon lost to the enemy. The original plan for publication was consequently given up. The two manuscripts, therefore, accompanied the author all over southwestern China. In the fall of 1939, Professor Ku Hsieh-kang, Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies, Ch'i-lu University, kindly accepted the manuscript of the Report of an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island as a volume in a series of studies to be published by the Institute. It was sent to Shanghai to be published by the K'aiming Bookstore. In the winter of 1940, I received a letter from Mr. Liu Chung-hsi (alias Liu Hsien), who was in charge of the printing at Shanghai, saying that all the printing plates had been made, and the book would be printed soon. Suddenly the Pearl Harbor incident occurred. The situation at Shanghai changed overnight. After that I heard nothing more about the publication. After the war was over, I was informed that the original printing plates had survived the war. However, owing to the uncontrolled inflation in postwar Shanghai, the K'aiming Bookstore did not intend to print the book. As to when the Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island will be published, I am unable to say.

Since the publication of the book on the Li was delayed, I temporarily gave up getting the book on the Miao printed. Furthermore, the war of resistance against the Japanese was followed by a civil war, which spread over every corner of the land. A purely academic work could not offer help for the real starvation and homelessness of the people, and therefore its publication did not seem an urgent need of

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114 the time. It was only very recently when the movement for the development of Hainan was revived that, with the encouragement of two of my close friends, Mr. Ch'en Chia-wu and Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, I decided to send this book for publication again. Thus a part of the humble desire which I have long cherished has materialized.

122 For the publication of this book, I am indebted to the aid of Chu-hai University. My teacher, Mr. Chou H'ai-pin, gave me the title; Mr. Chiang Ying-liang kindly lent me his precious photographs, and Mr. Lo Pao-t'ien drew the map. Their kindness is hereby respectfully acknowledged.

The Author

June 3, 1948, at the Western Village of Canton

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

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The present book went to press in 1940. After one year of typesetting and proofreading, the Pacific War began and Shanghai was occupied. The printing of the book was suspended. Fortunately, the hand-set type was intact when the war was over. However, as the book was written in 1939 many revisions were necessary, but the type already set could not be changed. Moreover, first-grade art paper was intended for use in the printing of the book, but due to the shortage of supplies newsprint is used instead, resulting in the defective reproduction of the plates for the illustrations, for which we beg the readers' indulgence.

PREFACE

114 In the last one hundred years many European missionaries and scholars have come to China and have done considerable work in ethnological and philological research. Their published writings can be used, in great measure, as source material for academic studies. However, little has been done on the Miao tribe in western Hunan. In 1902 Torii Ryūzō of Japan traveled extensively in the southwestern provinces of China, investigating the life of the Miao. Although he traveled through western Hunan he was unable to enter the Miao area to work. Therefore, the Miao area of western Hunan can still be described as a virgin area for ethnological study.

In the spring and summer of 1933 the writers visited western Hunan for an investigation of the Miao. We left Nanking on May 1, following the Yangtze westward and passing through Wuchang, Hankow, and Changsha, to arrive at Changteh and Taoyüan; and again going westward along the Yüan River to P'u-shih in Lu-ch'i hsien, and thence abandoning the boat we traveled overland to Feng-huang. In the border area of the three hsien Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui, we made on-the-spot investigations and inquiries concerning all phases of Miao life. We returned to Nanking on August 1, after a period of three full months.

Three months is naturally too short a time for a thorough investigation of Miao life. However, we were greatly aided in our mission by the authorities of western Hunan, as well as by the Miao themselves, whose enthusiastic cooperation facilitated our work in every way. Through the division of labor among the three of us,, day and night, we were able to shorten the time required for our work. The distribution of our work was as follows: The geography of the Miao territory, and the life, customs, and drum dances, etc. of the Miao people were undertaken by Ling Shun-shêng; the language, folk songs, and folklore, [126] etc. by Ruey Yih-fu; and photography, films, drawing, and

/1 cont./

114 cartography, etc. were the responsibilities of Mr. Yung T'u-heng, who accompanied us. The Miao gentlemen who helped 115 us were Messrs. Wu Wen-hsiang, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Tsung-hsüan of Feng-huang; Mr. Shih Ch'i-kuei of Kan-ch'eng; and Messrs. Lung Lin-chang, Lung Ting-kuo, and Lung Sheng-fa of Yung-sui, who were with us day and night ready to answer our questions. After we left western Hunan Messrs. Shih Ch'i-kuei, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Wen-hsiang undertook /2/ supplementary investigative work that we designated, for a long time. Thus, although our trip was short, the work accomplished would have taken a year or at least more than half a year had it been conducted by one person alone.

128 After our return to Nanking, as we were organizing the material collected during our trip, we were called upon to investigate the Yü tribe, and so we went to southern Chekiang in the spring and summer of the following year. That autumn Ling Shun-shêng was invited to Yunnan by the Yunnan Board of Education; Ruey Yih-fu was engaged in fingerprinting and body-measurement work. In the Autumn of 1935 both of us participated in the Anglo-Chinese Border Commission for the demarcation of the southern section of the Chinese-Burmese frontier, and had to travel to the Yunnan border. Not until the summer of 1936, after our return to Nanking from Yunnan, were we able to utilize part of our time to reorganize and study our material from western Hunan. A year later half of the draft of the present report was completed, when the Lu-kou-ch'iao//Marco Polo Bridge/ incident took place, which disturbed our minds terribly. The writers first followed the Institute's move to Hunan, then to Kwangsi, and finally in 1938 to Yunnan, before we were able to resume writing. At the end of the year the first draft was completed. Last spring and summer the books of the Institute arrived in Yunan, and with the references thus made available we were able to check and revise the first draft, and then to make final copies of the manuscript. By winter the entire work was ready, but Ruey Yih-fu was asked to go to Kweichow to investigate the folk art

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000 Administration, Hsü Tzu-lin, the principal of the United Normal School of the three hsien of Feng, Kan, and Ma, Shih Ai-san (Hung-kui), the private secretary of the hsien government of Feng-huang, Wang Yüeh-yen, and the gentry of western Hunan, such as the gentlemen Messrs. Chen Shao-nan, Chen Tzu-kuang, Tso Wei-I, Chen Yin-sheng, T'ien Jen-wen, and Liu Tsu-p'ing. They accompanied us to many Miao villages in the Feng, Kan, and Sui hsien areas for on-the-spot investigations. In addition the following persons helped us greatly on the spot: at Feng-huang, district magistrate Chou Yao-nan and the principal of the Model Primary School, Liu Fu-lin; at Hsin-chai, Commissioner T'ang Wen-ju of the Feng, Kan, Sui Three Hsien Border Pacification Commission; and at Kan-ch'eng, district magistrate T'ien Yao-liu. Their hospitality and assistance were deeply appreciated. Among the Miao people we desire [115] to make special mention of Messrs. Shin Ch'i-kuei, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Wen-hsiang, who contributed considerable material.

114 Finally, special thanks are due to Yung T'u-heng, who accompanied us to western Hunan and worked tirelessly. After his return to Nanking he helped us in arranging part of the material. The photographs and drawings in this book are all his.

000 The report in its completed form was approved by Director Fu Meng-chen (Szu-nien) of the Institute. The two chapters, "Language" and "Folk Songs," were checked by Li Fang-kuei and Chang Tz'u-yao. To all of them we express our appreciation.

Ling Shun-shêng
Ruey Yih-fu

April 30, 1940
Institute of History and Philology
Pao-t'ai Mountain
Lung-ch'üan Chen
Kunming

/30 cont./

131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today
648 the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall,
limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not
[161] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated,
[167] with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has
led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore,
whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7
on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits
designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely without reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land,
and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate.- Due to the lack of meteorological records the
climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The
●[114] authors kept such records along the way during their travels,
but they are the data of only a short period and do not represent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed
that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two
points within a short distance could be quite different. For
instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade,
but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13
at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850
[361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas
So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270
kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly,
[164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region.
On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown
only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in
the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparently on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate
in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su
K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate
of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China
Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing
slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals cannot see each other even face to face,, and it is difficult to move

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE MIAO

114 To study the economic life of any ethnic group it is necessary to study first its geographical environment, because the economic activities of mankind are greatly influenced by geographical conditions. Although man can conquer nature, it is only done within certain limits. In the previous chapter we have outlined the geography of the Miao area and have come to understand their natural environment. We are now prepared to proceed further to the description of their economic life. In this connection, however, a point has to be made 114 clear. That is, the Chinese and the Miao have lived side by 177 side for a long time, and although there is a boundary line [439] separating them, the two groups, now at war, now at peace, have traded constantly and maintained very frequent contacts. Because of this, it goes without saying that the material culture of the Miao in western Hunan today has been largely influenced by the Chinese. What is discussed in this chapter is actually also the human geography of the Miao area. With reference to its economic aspect, because the Miao and the Chinese have lived together for so long, their economic activities at present are quite similar. It is difficult to determine what is characteristically Miao and what is not. Our discussion, however, will center as much as possible on the Miao people.

241 Agriculture. — Before we went into the Miao area we had read the account of agriculture in the Miao area in Feng- [114] huang T'ing Chih /Gazetteer of Feng-huang Sub-prefecture/: "They fell the undergrowth and burn it. When the fire is extinguished, they begin cultivation. This is the so-called slash and burn cultivation.[4] After three or four years of planting, the land is abandoned and cultivation commences elsewhere, because the old field is no longer fertile." We had thought that the Miao were still at the primitive stage of

/54 cont./
241 agriculture. After our investigation on the spot we realized
[114] that this account was all wrong. What is said in the Gazetteer
refers only to one of the methods used by the Miao to cultivate
[133] mountainous terrain. The Miao area is all mountainous, hence
[243] there is much hilly land and few fields. The usual crops are
various cereals, mainly planted on mountain slopes. The
inclined field cannot take fertilizers. After three or four years
of cultivation, the soil becomes barren. It becomes necessary
to use the rotation method, to abandon it and pick new land
to develop. This allows the old barren ground to recover its
fertility. After three or four years a lush undergrowth gives it
the appearance of wild land, which to the Miao indicates the
recovery of the land's fertility. When spring comes the Miao
fell the trees and brush, let them dry in the field, and then
set fire to them. The charred remains and ash are left in the
field to be used as fertilizer. This is the so-called slash and
burn cultivation, otherwise known as to-yü /"to slash fields
which are in the third year of cultivation/, and the field is
called a field planted by fire or yü field. In the first year of
cultivation the yield is often doubled. The mixed cereals
[243] planted includes grain for the most part, maize, /55/ buckwheat,
and kaoliang; still next hemp, beans, and pearl barley.
[221] The sowing is generally done in April and May, and the harvesting
in August and September.

243 Besides the yü fields the Miao also plant plots of land
which can be flooded for growing rice. Rice grown in flooded
[221] fields is transplanted in April and May and is harvested in
August and September. The Miao area is very mountainous
and there are very few level areas for rice fields. They are
found in small number only in the small basins in the mountains
and along the banks of streams and rivers (Illus. 27), the
rest being terraced fields (Illus. 28, 29). The land of the
[312] basins in the mountains are mainly irrigated by leading water
from springs fed by mountain streams. Water wheels (Illus. 30)
are used for irrigation in the terraced fields along the streams.(1)

/127 cont./

121
771 Joseph Needham, translated into Chinese by Li An-che, Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh Tsung-chiao yü Shen-hua, page 1, The Commercial Press.

114
771 According to the report of the Japanese anthropologist, Torii Ryūzō: "The Miao of today have lost their native religion." (2) This perhaps was due

2. Torii Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao, National Translation Bureau's Chinese translation, page 259, The Commercial Press.

to a lack in Mr. Torii's investigation, that it neglected the religion of the Miao. According to the result of the investigations of the writers in western Hunan, the Miao tribe there not only have not lost their religion but also have preserved the magic related to their religion. Furthermore, while they have kept
771 their native religion on one hand, on the other they have been
177 influenced to a small extent by Chinese magical practices. Although the domain of magic has been reduced, we can still find vestiges of its existence. As to the domain of the Profane, or Science, we cannot tell what is native or what has been influenced by the Chinese, due to the high degree of their sinicization.

(1) Religion

776
771 The Miao do not differentiate between shen /Chinese, "gods," "spirits"/ and kuei /Chinese, "devils," "spirits"/.
[177] All are in the sacred domain, and are recognized to have supernatural powers; whether they are devils, ancestral spirits,
[192] or gods, they are all called "kuei," /kueŋ˦˩/ in the Miao language. In their daily life, whenever a strange phenomenon or an abnormal mien that cannot be controlled or explained

177 /129 cont./
791 mentioned were introduced by the Chinese. The method of
787 calculating the date is the same as that of the Chinese.

The best way to understand the religion of a people is to
123 participate in their religious ceremonies, observing closely and making inquiries. If one does not have the opportunity to observe such religious ceremonies, one can depend upon competent and reliable inquiries for recording and study.

776 The western Hunan Miao are in awe of kuei. According
*782 to the gazetteer of Yung-sui sub-prefecture, there are more than 70 kuei which receive sacrifices in Miao districts. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih,
Vol. 6 /1908/.

● [114] We have made a study of 40 of them. Although the list is by no means complete, the important ones are covered. Thus we can understand about 80 or 90 per cent of the contents of the religion of the Miao of western Hunan. Among the religious
[177] ceremonies of the 40 kuei receiving sacrifices, 16 belong to the Miao religion and 24 to the guest religion.

The various sacrificial ceremonies for kuei as performed by the Miao, whether they are of the Miao religion or the guest religion, are outward manifestations of mankind's inclination to avoid calamities and seek blessings. The things to be avoided are disease, death, and all other calamities. What is sought is the increase of wealth and descendants. Because they believe that calamities and blessings are completely in the control of kuei, they regard them with great awe. This awe produces respect, and respect calls for sacrifices. Whenever they come across any misfortune, they unquestionably want to sacrifice to the kuei, but even in ordinary untroubled times, at regular intervals, they also make sacrifices to the kuei. The former may be called special sacrifices which are performed because of sickness or other misfortune, or because of a portent; the latter may be called routine sacrifices which are held for no particular reason.

THE HAINANESE MIAO

(Miss) M. M. MONINGER

101 162 Far down in the mountainous interior of Hainan, principally in the districts of Loh-hoe and Deng-ang, several hundred Miao villages may be found. These Miao people, essentially a nomadic race, build their rude villages, live on the hillside a few years until the natural fertility of the soil seems to them to be exhausted, and then move to a virgin soil. Hainan's population embraces three great divisions—the Loi aborigines (several tribes of which have become much like the Chinese in everything except language), the Chinese and the Miao. The Chinese seem to be unable to distinguish between "wild" Loi and Miao, classing them all indiscriminately as Loi robbers, but they are very distinct peoples, each tribe having its own language and customs.

166 The Miao people are not native to Hainan. They themselves say that they came from Kwangsi five or six generations ago. They are practically all of one tribe, judging by the embroidered head kerchief of the women, but a few villages of a different type are found in Deng-ang. We would be very glad indeed to get in touch with Miao people in other parts of China who speak the same dialect as our people, and if any readers of this article recognize from the following descriptions, Miao who are similar to the Hainanese Miao, correspondence would be welcomed.

121 114 It has been my privilege, at two different times, to spend periods of three weeks each, itinerating among these people, and to have seen a number of their villages, both heathen and Christian. Certain general characteristics are true of all their villages and a description of one would apply to all. Let me take as typical the village of Baéh-túi-vóe or White-water-tail.

361 This village is situated near a lovely rocky river, on a tiny hill rising from the stream. Whether you come to the village from the north or from the south, you must scramble down a narrow, precipitous foot-path from the top of a mountain to the village, your carriers balancing their loads as best they can, and your pony in infinite danger of falling

563 go through one of their villages while the women were away in the fields without knowing that he had seen non-Chinese people, for their faces look no different, and the costumes of the men are the same, while the houses, though perhaps poorer, do not deviate from ordinary rural Chinese architectural standards except for the layout of the village. Unless he were a very persistent and hardy traveler, however, the chances that he would reach such a village are remote, for these people inhabit refuge areas, and their homes are tucked away in the higher valleys and on the less fertile mountain slopes. Along the larger rivers, the main highroads of China, the traveler would see only Chinese.

The one province of China which is least fertile, least productive, and least influenced by the far-reaching arm of Western culture is Kweichow. It is not surprising, therefore, that Kweichow contains a larger proportion of non-Chinese "aborigines" than the other provinces of southern China. With more aborigines and fewer Chinese, and with less immediate Chinese influence than elsewhere, Kweichow is the ideal place in which to study the non-Chinese — in this case the Miao. That is why, in 1940, Miss Portia Mickey went there.

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121 Before she undertook to study the daily life of a Miao village, Miss Mickey had had some ten years of experience in China, during which time she acquired a knowledge of Chinese. Aside from her linguistic qualification, she is a natural field ethnographer. Quiet and unobtrusive, she masks with her mild personality keen powers of observation, discrimination, and persistence. To go alone into the most backward part of the most backward province of China in war time, to live there under local conditions of nutrition and sanitation, and at the same time to keep detailed records of everything that went on, was a feat of no little courage and endurance for a small woman no longer young, on her first anthropological expedition.

roughly comparable to our county.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

from the wise and prudent. They may also have an important bearing upon the questions of missionary methods and missionary qualifications which are exercising the minds of not a few just now. Above all, they certainly emphasise the importance of belief in and dependence upon the working of the Holy Spirit.

Until the last few years, little has been known about the non-Chinese tribes of south-west China. With the friendly and even intimate relationships now established between the missionary and some of the tribes that ignorance is passing away. Hitherto, however, comparatively little has been published about them beyond a number of isolated articles in missionary magazines and some small booklets. The official reports of Mr. Colborne Baber and Mr. Consul Bourne are perhaps the chief exceptions. The present work it is therefore hoped will meet a distinct need.

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The author, the Rev. Samuel R. Clarke, who for thirty-three years has been a missionary in China, by reason of a residence of more than twenty years in Kweichow, and his careful study of the tribes, their customs, and some of their languages, has special qualifications for the writing of a more detailed account. It should be mentioned that the author, when he came home on furlough, had no thought of writing a book. He has therefore not had the advantages of reference to his own library and notes. This

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

volume, however, is his kind response to a request that he would publish the story of the work of grace among the non-Chinese tribes of Kweichow, and it will, we feel sure, find many grateful readers. The book, as it will be seen, is divided into two parts, with Appendices. Part I. deals with the Tribes and their Customs, etc., and Part II. with the work done among them. The Appendices, with their philological tables, will be of special value to the student. There may be some who may prefer to read the Second Part first, but those who may do so will hardly fail to want to know the facts about the people themselves recorded in Part I. 114

It is a remarkable fact that in the provinces of Kweichow and Yunnan, where work among the Chinese has been notoriously barren and unfruitful, this great work of grace among the non-Chinese tribes should have broken out. Communities which a few years ago were ignorant, degraded, and immoral, are now pure and Christian. Scores of villages have become wholly Christian, and hundreds of other villages are nominally Christian. One worker has estimated that, as the result of the work of the last seven or eight years, there are now some 50,000 of these people at least nominally Christian. 000

The strain upon those engaged in this work is not small. The area over which the work extends is many thousands of square miles, and the country is mountainous, some of the villages

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

THE CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

DAVID C. GRAHAM

A. INTRODUCTION TO THE FOLLOWING TRANSLATIONS OF CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

000 Among primitive peoples ceremonies are exceedingly important. They enable the tribes or ethnic groups to face in unity the crises of life, and to solve their difficulties. They bind the individuals into one psychic and emotional unity, causing them to unconsciously absorb the emotions and ideas of the group.

Ceremonials generally come down from a remote past, and are uncritically received and passed on to future generations. Through them one can learn the sentiments, beliefs, and practices of the people among whom they are found.

114 The three translations that follow are of ceremonies of the Ch'uan Miao, one of a To^{3} nʌn^{6} or magician who exorcises demons and thus heals disease and prevents other calamities, and two of mo-^{5} or priests who conduct funerals and other memorial ceremonies. They were translated into Chinese by Mr. Hsiung Ts'ao Sung 熊朝嵩, now deceased, and with his assistance, by the writer into English. In this translation an attempt has been made to get back of the Chinese to the meaning in the Ch'uan Miao language, and to render this as faithfully as possible into English.

B. THE CEREMONIES OF CH'UAN MIAO *TUAN KUNG* 端公 TO^{3} NΛN^{0}. THIS WAS ALL SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHENG TS'AI 熊正才 A FARMER OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD WHO LIVED AT WANG WU CHAI NEAR LO PIAO 洛表王武寨. HE HAD ALWAYS LIVED THE NORMAL LIFE OF A CH'UAN MIAO.

I. ARRANGEMENTS TO EXORCISE DEMONS

755
789 First a table is placed in the room. Incense and candles are lighted. Some vegetables and meat with gravy are used. The *tuan kung* 端公 places a pint of uncooked rice on the table and places a pair of wild ox horns in it. On his head he wears two paper horns. In his left hand he carries a brass gong. In his right he carries the stick with which to beat the gong. At the same time he burns some beeswax.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)/1954 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

123 I first came into contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 in 1921. During the previous year there had been a severe famine in Kweichow 貴州, and many of the tribespeople of that province, to save themselves from starvation, ate grass and the leaves and bark and roots of trees. One Hua Miao 花苗, called Chang Sa Kai or Zaccaeus Chang because of his short stature, left his home in Kopu 葛布, Kweichow Province, and came to Suifu 敍府, now called I-pin, where I was stationed. From him I learned of the Ch'uan Miao, and by his help I was able to make friendly contacts with them. I visited the Ch'uan Miao at Chou Chia Keo 周家溝, Wang Wu Chai 王武寨, and other places, and a Ch'uan Miao boy named Yang Fong Tsang went with me to Suifu, where he attended the junior and senior primary schools. For years he was an almost constant companion on my journeys, and he assisted me in my attempts to learn the language and customs of these people.

914 During the following years I visited the Ch'uan Miao in their homes as often as possible, listening to their songs, hunting with them, talking about their customs, taking anthropometrical measurements, and watching them play their wind instruments and dance, or perform their ceremonies.

In 1932 I was transferred to Chengtu 成都, the capital of the province, and was made curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology. From this time on I made more determined efforts to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. I spent several summers with them, and on one of these expeditions I was accompanied by W. R. Morse, M.D., and Gordon Agnew, D.D.S. Dr. Morse made anthropometrical measurements and observations, and Dr. Agnew studied their diet and their oral conditions. At one time when it was impossible, because of brigands, to go to their homes, several Ch'uan Miao came to Suifu and for weeks aided me in my study. At other times one or more Ch'uan Miao men came all the way to Chengtu. Believing that their music was very interesting and of high quality, I brought three of their best musicians to Chengtu where for several weeks Dr. Agnew and other musicians studied and transcribed their music, and published an interesting article on the music of the Ch'uan Miao in volume 11 of the Journal of the West China Border Research Society.

126 At first my method was to listen to a song or story as it was sung by a Ch'uan Miao man or woman, then write it down sentence by sentence as it was explained by the singer. Later I obtained the help of a Ch'uan Miao who could read and write Chinese and sent him to different parts of the Ch'uan Miao region to collect songs and stories. He would write them in Chinese in little booklets, which he would send to me at Chengtu. Later, with his help, I would translate them into English. The final stage was reached when my knowledge of the Ch'uan Miao language and the international script had improved enough to enable me to write down the Ch'uan Miao words in the international script, then transliterate them, and finally render a translation. I would always go over my final translations several times

[P. ii IS BLANK]

11: Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Blood Groups : China **With Plate E.** **Yang : Beh : Morse**

BLOOD GROUPS OF THE ABORIGINAL CH'WAN MIAO OF SZECHWAN PROVINCE, WEST CHINA.

By Stephen C. H. Yang, Y. T. Beh, M.D., and Professor W. R. Morse, M.D., West China University College of Medicine and Dentistry, Chengtu. With Plate E.

121 **66** This paper presents data on the blood groups of an aboriginal ethnic group called the Ch'wan Miao. There is included in this report some previously unpublished data on the blood groups of the Chinese of the province of Szechwan, practically all of whom were inhabitants of the Chengtu Plain.

Introduction.—In pursuance of a plan to make physical anthropological measurements and observations[1] on the Chinese and aboriginal tribes of Szechwan Province, one of the authors (M), with some help from Chinese medical doctors and students who were trained by him for anthropological work, have examined some 1,746 Chinese and 1,304 aboriginal tribesmen.

The aboriginal ethnic groups examined were mainly Tibetans, Chiang, Gia or Chia Rong, Hsi or Shi Fan, Bo Lo Tsi, Noso (Lolo) Black Bones and White Bones, Ta Hwa Miao, Ch'wan Miao and Chung Chia. The Chinese came from quite widely separated areas of the Chengtu Plain and the aborigines from the highlands and mountains to the north, west and south of that Plain.

The statistical analysis of these measurements is now being worked out.

There were over 70 physical anthropological measurements and observations taken on individuals of nearly all of these groups. Most of those examined were adult males, although several hundred adolescent male and female Chinese were included. Sixty of the Chinese were dissecting-room subjects, and their bones, except the skull, were preserved. Photographs were taken of many individuals.

These data have been gathered over a period of some fifteen years, during which time W. R. Morse has organized and made eleven expeditions into different sections of the province wholly or partially occupied by the aborigines. Roughly speaking, this territory is included within Lat. 27° 30' N. to 32° 30' N.; Long. 102° E. to 104° E., or from Songpan (Szechwan) in the north; Chao Tung (Yunnan) in the south; Yachow or Yaan (Szechwan) in the east; and Tatsienlu or Kangting (Shikang) in the west. The Ch'wan Miao occupy an area near Lat. 27° 30' N.; Long. 140° E.

The data accumulated include blood-pressure observations on the Noso (Lolo), Ta Hwa Miao and Ch'wan Miao[2]. Blood-pressure and blood-grouping, colour-blindness, etc., are to be observed on the Tibetans, Chiang, Gia Rong and Shi Fan, by an expedition, almost entirely for that purpose, during the months of July and August, 1937.

121
114 In correspondence with Professor R. Ruggles Gates of King's College, University of London, during 1935–36, Dr. Gates raised the question of blood grouping of the Tibetans and requested Dr. Morse to obtain those data. Owing to the acute activity of the Communists in and about

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[1] A schedule of these measurements and observations is now in press, published by W. R. Morse, as a supplement to Jour. W. China Border Research Society, VIII.

[2] 'Blood Pressure Amongst Aboriginal Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province, West China,' W. R. Morse, Y. T. Beh, *The Lancet*, Vol. 232, p. 966, 1937.

[P. 65]

121 114 the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we would have examined, it was considered impracticable to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

635 *Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.*—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.[3] Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

101 161 167 There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan Miao probably number about 100,000, and their place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao[3] whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liao and other tribes.[3]

563 The Chinese population of Szechwan is not autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient

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175 [3] W. R. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

[P. 66a]

12: Wu and Ch'en--1 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

General Conditions of the Miao-I in Kweichow

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Introduction

114 121 The year before last I was commissioned by certain organizations to investigate the conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow. After having received the order, I left for the Miao-I areas of the various hsien districts to start work on the spot. Unfortunately, the references I had previously gathered were of little use. After I had reached the Miao-I district, all that I had seen and heard through personal contacts in the wild mountains and lonely hamlets I recorded faithfully on the spot in the midst of fatigue and traveling. In three years I covered the whole province, and the amount of material I collected was immense. Before it had been organized and put into shape, inquiries came from many quarters concerned with the welfare of the Miao-I people, but these could not be replied to one by one. Furthermore, conditions in the Miao-I areas are quite different from those in the interior, and people who have never been there are prone to picture the Miao-I as a mysterious people and to distort the facts about them. The present article "General Conditions of the Miao-I Societies in Kweichow" serves as an introduction to a knowledge of the Miao-I areas. It is hoped that the readers will be pleased with this survey.

2. Racial Groups

175 563 1) Origin and History. Among the 450,000,000 Chinese nationals, there are a large number of ethnic groups. According to ancient history, there were the Hua-hsia, the Tung-i, the Ching, the Wu, the Pa-yueh, the Tung-hu, the Su-shen, the Hsiung-nu, the T'u-chüeh [Turks], the Ch'iang, the Hsi-ts'ang [Tibetans], the Miao, the Yao, and many others. After a thousand years [2] of assimilation and amalgamation, those who

[122 cont.]

539 Two halves of a millstone from east and west of the
river?"
And, so brother and sister hurried back
To the boat and there rolled down the bank the
millstone.
And who would imagine that the two halves
were united
[123]
Not only once but as many as four times!
Then brother and sister no longer hesitated,
But husband and wife they became.
Looking back at the shore, Chih Lai saw
A pheasant stand there on yonder rock,
And picking up a piece of iron, he aimed at it.
Who would imagine that the iron hit the rock
And there from the crevice sparks came forth.
The sparks burnt the grass on the rock
As flames and smoke curled up to the skies.
Now brother and sister had fire to cook their food.
All on earth was once again in a peaceful mood,
And the universe returned to its primeval calm
and ease.
The myriad things thrived; men and spirits lived
in peace.
The flood was gone and the world in harmony.
Brother and sister loved each other tenderly;
From their wedlock sons and daughters sprang.
The eldest son was Chao Yung,
The second son Chao Yang;
And the third son Chao Yao.
For myriads of generations the people in the world
Were their descendants all.

[114] (This song was translated [into Chinese] by Mr. Yang Han-hsien and published in Kweichow jih-pao [Kweichow Times], "The Social Studies Supplement," No. 9, edited by the Social Science Research Institute of the Ta-hsia University.)

[129 cont.]

171 773 nature." The reform in the Miao marriage system probably did not antedate the reform in the Chinese marriage system. This also attests to the fact that their mythologies were shaped after the Ch'un Ch'iu period, or at least that they underwent many changes later.

From these myths we can gather some material regarding
174 the origin of fire. We know that fire used by the primitive people originated from natural sources, such as forest fires resulting from lightning, fire from volcanoes, and other causes such as spontaneous combustion of withered leaves. This kind of natural fire was preserved and used by man. Later, man learned how to obtain fire through artificial means and the use of fire became more extensive. There were two methods of obtaining fire, one by striking an object and the other through friction. Which of these methods came first is a question not yet satisfactorily solved. American anthropologists have abundant material from the American Indians to show that the method of friction pre-
174 372 ceded the method of striking. According to the mythology of the Hua Miao, fire was obtained by hitting a piece of iron against a rock, which is clearly the method of striking. Of course it does not have to depend upon a piece of metal. In fact the making of fire through artificial means long antedated the iron age. Flints hitting each other could always yield sparks of fire, and the story of the metal piece was evidently introduced later by the Miao. In any case they provide an evidence that with the Miao striking preceded friction in making fire. At the same time it illustrates that the development of fire varied with localities, and did not necessarily follow a definite procedure as held by the classical school. This is a point in anthropology worthy of our attention.

114 (This article was first published in the "She-hui hsün-k'an" [Social Studies, a publication appearing every ten days], Nos. 4-5, of the Kwei-yang Ke-ming Jih-pao [Kwei-yang Revolutionary Times], May 19, 1938, and has been slightly revised in its present form.)

[148 cont.]

[114] (First published in Shê-hui yen-chiu [Sociological Studies], No. 20, March 25, 1941.)

[180]

The Festivals of the Miao-I at An-shun

Ch'en Kuo-chün

805 796 The calendar used by the various Miao-I tribes at An-shun is the lunar calendar, but as a rule nobody remembers dates or knows the exact time of the New Year's day, those having almanacs at home being very few. To count the days they generally use the symbolic animals of the twelve cyclical branches, -- rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog and boar -- because the markets are held on days named after these animals. But those who can calculate the days according to them are very few. Indeed the majority of the people do not even know the day and month in which they were born. The occurrence of an event on a particular day cannot be recalled with accuracy a month hence, and after a year it is relegated to limbo with at most perhaps a vague notion that it took place at the time of peach blossom, or in the planting season, or during harvest time.

796 Although the calendar used by the Miao-I is identical to that of the Chinese and likewise the year is divided into twelve months, the festivals observed are somewhat different in importance. The Hua Miao, the Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia, for instance, regard the sixth day of the sixth month as the greatest festival. The following is a month by month account of the festivals of the Miao-I at An-shun during the year.

The First Month. The first day of the first month is the beginning of the year. The Miao-I in this district would stick up paper money on the door of the house, which is also decorated with red peppers strung together with scented rice straw. Some of the Chung-chia people imitate the Chinese by asking calligraphers to pen symmetrical New Year verses for the door, M [189 cont.]

796 tea. It is said that this tea, when drunk by old folks, can cure
[278] coughing. On this La-pa day the families cook the soft congee
M rice [chou], known as "la-pa-chou," instead of the hard, dry
[262] rice. This custom is the same as that of the local Chinese.

The last day of the twelfth month is the day to banish all
M bad luck, and is known as the "Big New Year Eve." On this day
[777] all the Miao-I families do a thorough house-cleaning. They go to the mountain to collect bamboo branches and tie them in a bundle to be used as a broom to brush away the dust accumulated during the year. They also wash their household implements and utensils, and thus tidy up the whole house to give it a completely new look both inside and outside. In the morning they make tz'u-pa to feed the cow and buy from the village fair many varieties of New Year delicacies. In the evening they put wine and food outside the gate as offerings to heaven and earth and their ancestors. After the sacrifice they gather together for dinner in the house. They pick out some rice and meat from the table to feed the dog. After dinner the elder of the house distributes cash presents to the children. No one goes to bed on the New Year Eve as candles burn, firecrackers resound, and singing and music from the reed-organ rend the air the whole night until dawn. This is known as keeping the vigil of the year.

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[114] (This article was published in Shê-hui yen-chiu, No. 35, October 22, 1941.)

[190] The Drum Tower in the Tung-chia Area

Ch'en Kuo-chün

S
161 The southern border region of Kweichow province has a subtropical climate and food from nature is comparatively easy to obtain. There the life of the Miao-I people is easier and their physiological growth is faster than that in other Miao-I areas in Kweichow. For this reason the population in this district increases

[203 cont.]

No. 7

539 The seventh day of seventh moon
Is pheasant hunting season soon:
The pheasant flies across the pass,
My girl and I are alone at last.

No. 8

The gold tipped chopstick falls
Where the pretty maiden calls:
I purposely toss it around
So that my maiden can be found.

No. 9

This road to Kweichow, winding and long;
Vehicles run all night till dawn:
Reaching homestead with a pang
Of joy, for soon it is Kweiyang.

No. 10

Birds in heaven fly in pairs;
The man in clouds assumes stupid airs —
Hey, you fool!
There's none prettier than she who's there.

● [114] (b) The songs of the Ching-miao. (Free translation from the Miao language into Chinese, but faithful translation from the Chinese into English.)

Ordinary Love Songs (Serenades for Kan-piao)

No. 1

The moon rises in the gloaming,
With our lovers we go roaming;

[205 cont.]

No. 6

539 The high mountain is so near yonder;
To the deep water there we wander;
On the bridge the maid eats meal,
But in the cow shed our love will seal.

Wine Song (Sung at feast)

Here's some gift to relation sent;
To receive it a fair cousin smiles:
For us a table and benches set,
And the host runs home many miles.

A crowded table is not our worry;
Your wine is what we fear:
For to eat and drink and all a-flurry,
To be intoxicated here.

[114] (c) The Songs of the Chung-chia (Free translation from the Miao language, but faithful translation from the Chinese.)

No. 1

The pouch is chiselled on two sides;
We share the road from different homes:
To talk to you - my yearning urge,
But fear some one's vengeance surge.

No. 2

Three scarves hidden by a screen;
A maid has her good husband seen:
Others move on silently,
Bending, tearful, mournfully.

Miao AES

the middle-ancient sources of the 3rd century B.C. recognized unquestionably descendants of these early (San) Miao still in the Nan Shan (Ch'i-lien Mts.) in Kan-su, a northern region of mountain steppes. Truly the entire economy, clothes, way of living, and social organization is derived from this type of landscape, - mountains, mountain-steppes, or steppe. The Miao of the plain are not really Miao any longer; for on cultural and economic grounds they must become T'ai or Chinese. 174

Without denying the validity of his statement that the early ancestors of the Miao may have been steppe or mountain-steppe dwellers, it ought to be pointed out that philologically, the grass radical over a field in the character Miao does not necessarily refer to steppe or grassland, and, in fact, may not refer to such vegetation or landscape at all. The Tz'u-Hai Encyclopedia[35] gives one definition of Miao as rice-plant shoots before the rice matures. Before maturity, rice plants are called Miao; after maturity they are called Ho. Miao also is given as an ancient place-name north of the Yellow River in Honan. While the vegetation here may be steppe where the land is not planted, it is hardly mountainous or even hilly. The K'ang-hsi Dictionary refers to a classical line of poetry during the Chou or Han period which freely translated reads "Large rats, do not eat up my tender plant shoots (Miao)". Thus, this character appears to picture cultivated fields rather than wild grass-lands. The danger inherent in this sort of evidence is perceivable.

Eickstedt said that many Miao in talking to him raised their hands in horror at the very thought of settling on the plains, and, no doubt, as he points out, if we take their general cultural situations, the Miao, Fan and Ch'iang belong on the cold mountain heights, in contrast to the Wu-man and Liao on the warm slopes, with the T'ai people in the hot, steaming valleys. But he appears to be going too far in saying that from the foregoing, i.e., his preceding description, it follows that around the 2nd Millennium B.C., the San Miao were found neither in the rice plains of the Yang-tzu as inhabitants of Ch'u nor as solely inhabiting the mountains of distant Kuei-chou but that they were partly or solely to be found in the cool steppes or steppe mountains of the north.[36] The Miao preferences may merely reflect the historical conditioning of a habitat forced upon them. 114 133

Having viewed one side of the argument, let us examine the other side. In the first place, according to Chiang Ying-liang, historically the San-Miao of the Shang History who were driven from the Yellow River Plain to the northwest by the Han-Chinese have no relation to the San-Miao described by Han Fei-tzu in the Book of History.[37] The latter were a southern people living between the P'o-yang Lake and the T'ung-t'ing Lake. If this be so, then the proponents of the preceding arguments have confused a southern San-Miao with a northern San-Miao which has no relation to the southern one. However, Chiang gave this as his evaluation of conflicting evidence. The authorities that many Chinese historians have used to contend that the Miao are descendants of the Hsia Dynasty San-Miao are the Chan-kuo-ts'e (Warring States Records) (B.C. 403-221) and the Wei Ts'e (Records of the Wei Dynasty: A.D. 220-277). These state that the habitat of the San-Miao is to the left of the T'ung-t'ing (looking at it from the north), and to the right of P'eng-li (P'o-yang Lake). Because the character Miao in San-Miao is the same as that for the modern Miao, and because the modern Miao are found in the same locality, the connection appears to be plausible and has been assumed to be a fact. Nevertheless, after the period of the Ch'in and the Han, the historical records do not carry the nomenclature of Miao until the beginning of the Sung and Yuan, 700 to 1000 years later.[38]

The pre-Ch'in historical works refer to three terms using the character Miao as applied to an ethnic group (1) San-Miao (2) Yu-Miao and (3) Miao-min. Various explanations have been offered for the meaning of the characters San ("three"), Yu ("there are"), and Min ("people"), especially in writings since Han and T'ang times. Ling Shun-sheng considered that San was not meant to limit the number of Miao tribes to three, but that it was used merely in the Chinese fashion to indicate that there were more than just one or two. In the same way, for instance, the Chiu-Li (Nine Li) were not necessarily limited to nine tribes or groups. (Ling referred the reader to Wang Chung's article in the first issue of Shu Hsueh entitled Tz'u San Chiu (an interpretation of "three" and "nine"). The character Yu in Yu-Miao is a modifier added for the sake of euphony and rhythm.

Writers on the classics since the Han and T'ang have largely taken San-Miao as the name of a state, according to Ling. Thus, Ma Jung said: "In the western frontier, San-Miao is the name of a state. Its nobles are the descendants of Chin Yün." Or the writers referred to San-Miao

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
Miao AE5

as the name of the gentry or clan of a state. Thus, Cheng Yung wrote: "The Miao-min are the princes of the Chiu-li. These princes were corrupted by Shao Hao and abandoned virtuous ways. Like Ch'ih Yu, they were punished heavily." Ling asserted that the Ch'ing Dynasty scholar Wang Ming-sheng was among those misinterpreting the connection between the modern Miao and the ancient Miao. Wang wrote: "The San-Miao are the descendants of the Chiu-li. The Li and the Miao were both names for the Nan-Man (Southern Man), and are similar to those of today." Japanese historians, in Ling's opinion, also have added to the misinterpretation, so that many present-day Chinese and western scholars have accepted it without question.[39] 174 114

Ling, however, argued that not only is there no connection between the San-Miao of ancient times and the Miao of modern times, but that there is a distinction between the early San-Miao princes or San-Miao State and the subjects of the San-Miao. He presented evidence to show that the subjects of the San-Miao of the north Hu-nan area were the Chiu-li. As to the princes of San-Miao, the Shih Chi says that Chin Yun's clan had the surname Chiang and that they were the progeny of Emperor Yen (B.C. 2737-2697). Evidently, according to this line of argument, the San-Miao princes perhaps with or without a portion of their Chiu-li subjects were banished to San-wei in Kan-su for refractory behavior. The rest of their subject Chiu-li tribesmen were left behind in the Hu-nan area.

On the basis of the banishment of the San-Miao to the Tun-huang area of Kan-su, the T'ang Dynasty writer Tu Yu appears to have drawn the conclusion that the Chiu-li were the forefathers of the Hsi-ch'iang or Western Ch'iang. This runs up against an obstacle in modern ethnography, since the Western Ch'iang are found to be the forefathers of the modern Lolo, whereas the Chiu-li are supposed to be directly related to the Chuang or T'ai group of Li tribes, who are entirely different culturally.[41] A logical hypothetical solution would solve the dilemma if the San-Miao princes were of a culturally different group from their Chiu-li subjects, but this would have to be proved

According to the ancient Chinese records, prior to the Chou Dynasty, the distribution of the peoples in South China were as follows: South of the Yang-tsu, the Chiu-li were the most powerful group, occupying the area between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes. West of this area were the Man (presumably in the west Hu-nan and Hu-pei area). 166 174

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/2 cont./

A
M
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My journey and the working-up of its results enabled me to correct a great many contradictions and obvious errors which appear in the available literature on the Meau. Moreover, I was able to fill in gaps in the ethnography of this tribe as it was known to us. As far as the Akha are concerned, the hitherto available literature contains such scanty information about them that until now this tribe could be regarded as virtually unknown, except for a partial study of the religion by Telford and the little information by Scott.

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Unless a source is expressly mentioned, the present work contains my own findings throughout. As a basis for the conclusions on colonial ethnology, I used my article, "Aufgaben der Kolonialethnologie /Problems of Colonial Ethnology/," in Vol. I of the Grosse Völkerkunde. This applies also for the terminology. On every ethnographic expedition the problem of coming to an understanding with the natives creates special difficulty, and this often becomes the source of errors unless linguists trained in the language of the people to be studied take part in such an expedition. In our case this difficulty was overcome relatively well. Bun Ma, a Lao from Pre in northern Thailand, who, as a former teacher in a mission school, had mastered spoken and written English besides his mother tongue, proved to be an excellent interpreter and otherwise distinguished himself. In addition, I had hired a Chinese from Canton, named Ju Tschang, who for many years has resided in the Lao village of Nam Pun in northern Thailand. He spoke Haw, Meau, Lao, English, and some Phi Tong Luang and was at my disposal from time to time. Moreover, most of my Meau informants, especially the extremely intelligent chief, Tsin Tsai, from Nam Fa on the Thailand-Indochina border in northern Thailand, had mastered the language of the Haw as well as Lao. Thus, for my surveys among the Meau, good opportunities for reaching an understanding were provided by the Lao, Haw, /3/ and English languages. In practice this meant that I could have each sentence translated either by a Meau into Lao or by a Chinese or Lao interpreter into English.

A01
Akha A04
Miao AE5

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shamans or from men who were reputed to have magic faculties. I believe that I thereby succeeded in reducing to a minimum the errors and misunderstandings that are unavoidable in ethnographic studies.

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As a result of present conditions, the number of illustrations originally planned was reduced by the publisher. Hence I was unable to show through reproductions of original photographs (Ill. 1 to Ill. 108) supplementing the text all the cultural elements which would be pictorially comprehensible. I have tried to bridge this gap by inserting line drawings in the text (Fig. 1 to Fig. 431), most of which are based on original drawings by

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my wife. The chapters "Settlement and House Construction," "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," and "Clothing and Ornaments" were written independently by my wife.

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Since this book is not a linguistic study and the language samples are merely necessary supplements to the ethnographic data, the spelling of native words has been simplified to correspond phonetically with German pronunciation. Where additional sounds were needed, English and French pronunciations were used. This gives the following pronunciations:

ṅ	like ng in the /German/ word "Menge"
h	like ch in the /German/ word "nicht"
x	like ch in the /German/ word "Nacht"
s	like sch in the /German/ word "Schule"
v	like the English "v"
w	as in the English word "water"
th	as in the English word "thousand"
y	as in the English word "yes"
ā	nasal, like the French "an"
ē	nasal, like the French "vin"
ō	nasal, like the French "on"
ū	nasal, like the French "un"
.	under a closed vowel, for example:
ẹ	as in /the German word/ "See"
-	under an open vowel, for example:
e̱	as in the French "mère."

Miao AE5

/18 cont./

175 648 Finally Abadie (1) comes to the description of the history

1. Page 163.

of the Meau in the twentieth century. Here he mentions an uprising of the Meau of Dongvan in 1911 under a Chief Sioung. This movement was quickly suppressed. Then an uprising by the Meau in upper Laos during the World War 1914 to 1918 made it necessary to send an expeditionary force there. I was told that this revolt was fomented by agents of one of the powers in the war. Concerning this uprising, Savina (2) reports briefly

2. II, p. 235.

that in July, 1918, the Meau in the province of Laokay had revolted, and in the Luang Prabang district the uprising had lasted until March, 1921. Lajonquière (3) gives a similar account:

3. II, pp. 297 ff.

"The last minor revolt took place in 1928 in French Laos. Of greater importance were the uprisings that broke out in July, 1918, in the province of Laokay, which caused the French administration considerable difficulty and could not be suppressed until March, 1921, in the region of Luang Prabang."

Savina (2) /see footnote 2 above/ then discusses the causes of the uprisings of the Meau and comes to the conclusion that the Meau had always revolted "because they are a people without [114] property. They have no homeland and no king." It seems to me, all things considered, that this is a somewhat rash statement. I shall come back to the probable actual causes, and not only for the revolt of 1918, which I have already briefly mentioned, at length and upon a sound basis in the chapter on "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," in the section on "Causes of the Migrations."

Miao AE5

/31 cont./

597 In the case of adoption, very many points must be observed in accordance with Meau customs which go into great detail. Childless /32/ couples seek to adopt a child. Only children of the male or female sex up to the age of at most ten years, however, may be adopted. The couple now look for a suitable child of a mother who has especially many children, if possible of their own sib /Sippe/, and furthermore obtain the consent of the heads of both of the large families /Grossfamilien, extended families/ involved, provided that such a head of the large family exists in the case of the child to be adopted. The couple also makes this intention known to the parents of the child to be adopted. If the parents have also agreed, the childless [782] couple slaughters a chicken as a sacrifice to the god of heaven and the ancestors and informs the latter of the completed transaction by burning some chicken blood on sacred paper (see the chapter "Handicrafts"). With this the adopted child is received into the new family community with all rights and duties.

If no children of one's own sib are available, one tries to obtain a strange child. This presents difficulties if its [432] parents are still alive, for, as a rule, children are not sold. The situation is different if the parents are dead and the oldest of the orphaned siblings is not in a position to take proper care of the younger ones, as would be his duty. Such children are sold for the purpose of adoption. Sometimes special inter- [448] mediaries are used for this. These are traders, usually Chinese, who buy and sell children as well as all kinds of commodities (see the chapter, "Trade").

[435] For such a child, if a girl, fifty pieces of silver, for a boy about seventy, are paid. The price varies according to the age and health of the child. If the child is from one's own sib, the price is usually somewhat lower. My observations are therefore [114] contrary to the reports of the Siam. Soc. Journal (1), but they are not refuted by any other author.

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1. Vol. XVII, Part 3, p. 167.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5 ●

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outbreak of serious /36/ illness, it is his business to have the shaman summoned and then to play the role of assistant in his performances.

d) Age Classes, Clans, Secret Societies, Rank Organization

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Secret societies and clubs, as well as age-class organizations are unknown among both peoples. Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha did I find any indication of the existence of a clan /Klan/ system or of individual clans. Nevertheless, ancient Chinese sources often mention clans among the various Meau tribes (1). Also in the works of French authors the term comes up occasionally. In the latter cases one can easily see that the authors confuse clan and sib, that is, they use the term "clan" in place of "sib." Possibly the Chinese authors also use "clan" in a different sense than it is used in German ethnography. There are no guilds, organizations of merchants or craftsmen, ranks, castes, or nobility.

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Among the Meau, in addition to the free there are also the unfree, who, however, are not to be confused with slaves. In the case of the unfree, it is rather a matter of Meau who are alone, whose relatives have died as a consequence of war, sickness, or old age, and who, having grown up within the unit of the large family, now have no possibility of enduring the struggle for existence as solitary individuals. In the forests of Farther India the isolated individual is not equal to the struggle for existence. The larger the community, the easier is the struggle for survival. The Meau is well aware of this fact and
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strives at all costs to enlarge the community. Thus it is the self-evident aim of the Meau to have as many children as
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possible, and he demands ten children and more from each of his wives! Despite the great fertility, however, there are

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1. Eberhard, II, p. 274.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5 ●

/36 cont./
M always solitary old people; above all, epidemics have caused
592 whole sibs to die out! Thus it happens relatively often that an
737 individual in old age does not have the care to which he is entitled
according to the social organization. Such survivors of
an extinct /37/ community turn to the head of a powerful large
family, one which consists of as many members as possible, and
ask permission to put themselves under its protection. Such a
petition is never rejected, even if it comes from an old person
who will be only a burden to the large family. Such unfree
persons are given their sustenance, and they try as well as they
can to be useful to the community.

A Among the Akha there is no distinction between the free
466 and the unfree. Here the rich man hires the poor for work in
the fields and pays them for their labor. These workers, however,
do not live in the house of the employer and are completely
"free" in every other respect. Thus, among the Akha
A solitary old men live completely alone; only in the case of
737 old women does it sometimes happen that they attach themselves
to a friendly family. This does not in any way affect their
position as "free" Akha.

A Among the Akha there are no slaves at all in the true sense
M of the word, and among the Meau only in the form of debt-
567 slaves (cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice,"
M section on "Property Law"), who are usually sold to Chinese
[648] traders, in which case, however, the seller as well as the buyer
usually have in mind the sale of the individual for purposes of
adoption. This has already been discussed in detail in the
section, "Organization of the Family," in this chapter.

A On the basis of all that has been said, there is true father-
M right among the Meau as well as among the Akha. It would
571 be mistaken to speak of the influences of mother right,
●114 totemism, and even promiscuity, as is done by older authors
with reference to the Meau. It also seems to be overshooting
the mark when, on the other hand, a "patriarchal original-
culture" /"vaterrechtliche Urkultur"/ is discussed, as in

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

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Witek (1). Aside from the fact that it is on the whole

1. Page 156.

problematical to use the concept "original culture" in connection with a people living today, it is especially inappropriate in the case of a people with such a highly developed and complicated social and political organization as the Meau. It also seems to me that the remark by Seidenfaden (2), that the Meau

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2. Page 167.

follow the Chinese and the Han with regard to a good way of life and the organization of the family, is correct only if qualified.

/38/

Chapter 6

Political Organization

a) Organization of the Greater Community

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From the historical traditions of the Meau (cf. the chapter, "History") it is shown without any doubt that they formerly had a tightly organized kingship. Even today major political units are said to exist in the lands neighboring Thailand. Concerning the French territories, Lajonquière reports (1): "In

Page 320.

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[148]

regions where Meau groups have congregated, they are subdivided into tribes which, freeing themselves from the mediation of the communal chiefs of the Tho (Thai), negotiate directly with the quanchau or chiefs of the sectors. In general they form aggregates and live independent of the communities of those peoples on whose land they dwell. These aggregates

39: Bernatzik--90 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5
Akha AO4

/57 cont./

M 854 [482] Abadie (1), while discussing the carrying of burdens on the back,

1. Page 160.

also mentions the child-carriers of the Meau: "This method of carrying loads is also used for small children, whom the women hoist on their backs, packed in a kind of bag that is held on the shoulders by means of two supports." Abadie published illustrations of this on Plates 39 and 40 of his work. There are no cradles.

A M 855 Among the Akha small children are cared for by the parents, among the Meau chiefly by the grandparents. Older siblings also devote much time to them and are often entrusted with the care of somewhat bigger children. From six to eight years of age they are taken into the children's group (see the section, "The Children's Group," in this chapter).

A M [868] [867] In both tribes much time is devoted to the children. The mother attempts to teach her child a few words at an early age; she begins with the expression for father and mother. Thus, from a young age the child has continual social contact all day long. Accordingly the social components are more strongly developed than among European children of the same age. The situation is therefore nothing like what Lajonquière (2) writes

M 114 855

2. II. p. 315.

about the children of the Meau: /58/ "They grow up without supervision and moral education, a prey to their instincts, and are forced into hard work in the fields as soon as their age permits them to do work."

A M 857 [609] [867] [157] [123] The children learn very early to distinguish between family and tribal members and persons who are foreign to the tribe. They are not bashful, but are very curious, and because of these qualities become very annoying to strangers after a brief acquaintanceship. On the other hand, they do not like to be watched while they go about their own business. Thus it came about that everywhere and in no time we were the focal point of the children, who crowded around us in droves and

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/75 cont./

M 231 [857] [516] thread attached to them, but are later freed. Since the children are very skilled manually, these animals usually suffer no harm, and the adults, who are very fond of animals, have no reason to interfere. They laugh heartily when they notice that the children treat the animal as if it were one of them.

M [114] [177] I could not find confirmation for Abadie's statement (1) that the Meau train monkeys and travel around with them as jugglers. I presume that the Meau involved were extensively Sinicized.

A 231 [157] Among the Akha the relationship between man and animal is not as good. The Akha are much more brutal with animals, which, to be sure, they do not treat unjustly, but simply without love and harshly. The dogs in the Akha villages have a beaten appearance, are thievish, although they are fed, and receive, never unwarranted, to be sure, but cruelly harsh punishments. A M [262] The Akha, who, in contrast to the Meau, eat dogs, regard the dogs simply as prospective roasts. A [857] I only rarely saw children actually play with a dog, but repeatedly observed that they tortured the animals without interference on the part of the adults, just as I never came across adults admonishing children to have a more humane attitude. In one instance a boy about four years old repeatedly kicked a small dog that was completely at his mercy and could not run away. /76/ The adults sat there indifferently, and the boy would certainly have kicked the animal to death if I had not finally prevented him from doing so.

On the other hand, the Akha have a striking predilection for beautiful birds, especially for parrots and lovebirds, which they capture and keep in cages or on perches (see Ill. 49[1] and the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 199 and 200). These birds, as well as the wood pigeons used as decoys, are well cared for; the children play with them and regard them as delightful housemates.

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1. Page 169.

[1] [See Cat 116, p 334 - ANALYST]

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/82/

7. Mental Development

A Unfortunately I was unable to test adequately either the
M children of the Akha or those of the Meau. A number of difficulties
114 blocked this, especially the shortage of porters, which
125 did not permit moving our test material. Moreover my test
145 forms were designed for the mental world of primitives and
could not be applied without further ado to a mountain people of Farther India with the mental capacity of the Akha, much less that of the Meau. It would have been necessary to revise my test forms, but we did not have the time to do this, especially since our funds were limited.

A According to our observations, however, the children of
M the Meau are more highly developed and surpass those of all
157 the mountain tribes of Further India, including the Akha. Particularly
856 striking among the Meau is a marked individualism,
or rather a strong differentiation in comparison with the other tribes mentioned, which is already apparent even in small children.
A At the age of four or five distinct differences of character
M and talent are already evident. The Meau children begin
153 to talk when they are one year old, those of the Akha somewhat
856 later; at this age they are already able to say "father"
and "mother" and a few other words. There are, however, some gifted children who speak even earlier and some without talent who are hardly this far at the age of two. One can say, however that at an average age of three and a half years the language of the children is almost equal to that of the adults.

At the age of two the children are not yet able to eat by themselves; they learn this during their third year. The
A Meau children begin asking questions at the age of five, those
M of the Akha at the age of six. The children of the Meau do
153 not bother to think up explanations of their own for things that
861 are unknown to them, but rather in each and every case ask
157 their parents or other adults of their community, and in this
respect they are decidedly vivacious and active. The children of the Akha are less persistent in this questioning than those of

Akha A04
Miao AE5

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Pictorial representations are also foreign to both peoples. Though the children had never before seen pictorial representations, at the age of three or four they recognized drawings and photographs that I showed them, provided, of course, the representation was within their range of conception. Archers with crossbows or pictures of work in the fields or of the slaughtering of pigs immediately aroused their attention, and they tried to imitate the scene portrayed or the position, for instance, of the crossbow-archer. /85/ When I showed them pictures of European settlements and houses, however, I was immediately assailed with questions: "What is this? Why do you live in such houses? What do you eat? Are there as many children among you? Are they as white as you?" If I showed a child a photograph in which he himself was represented amidst his comrades, he recognized his companions immediately, but only in exceptional cases himself. On the other hand pubescent girls or boys sometimes did find themselves in the pictures. At any rate, the old idea that such children do not recognize pictures or drawings was refuted time and again.

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In order to test their drawing ability, I had children of both sexes and of all age levels make drawings. I gave the one to be tested paper and pencil and left him alone for an hour (Ill. 67).[1] The choice of subject was completely free. I prevented any influence from a third party and gained an insight into the mind of the child being tested. I have discussed the results of these experiments in detail in a special study (1) dealing with the drawings collected by me among various primitive peoples. In this present work it can merely be said that the boys of the Meau, as well as of the Akha, began to outgrow the scribbling stage at the age of ten, while at the age of fifteen or sixteen almost all the subjects tested were able to draw true to life. In each case I immediately afterwards wrote down the explanations given by the person tested. Sometimes I confronted a child days later with the drawing and asked him

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1. Bernatzik, VII.

[1] [see cat 116, p511 - ANALYST]

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/88 cont./

M seriously disturbed. It is gayest when Bun Ma, our Lao
832 interpreter, is visited in his camp by three or four girls together.
883 Then there is no end of ringing laughter; it wakes us up in the
morning and prevents us from falling asleep at night. They
123 tease him about one of the girls, urge him to visit her because,
they say, she is waiting for him, ask how the Lao make love,
and so forth. Bun Ma, a slender, gracefully built Lao, feels
himself very much the center of attention and declares that
if they were not so dirty he would long since have made friends
M with a Meau girl. As a matter of fact, the dirtiness of the
[515] girls considerably disturbs the Lao, very much accustomed to
cleanliness, though he is readily captivated by the pretty faces
and the ingratiating nature of the girls. In the evening Bun Ma
M sits in the house of the chief, and the girls teach him the love
[533] songs of the Meau in their language, and even the old chief
joins in and, turning toward Bun Ma with a smirk, sings in the
same register as the girls and amid general laughter: 'Where
do you stay so long, I am waiting for you!'"

A That purely materialistic considerations play only a
M minor role in the choice of a partner is shown by the fact that
836 prostitution is unknown among both peoples and a girl never
[548] yields to a man who is not congenial to her. To be sure, it is
customary for every young man to give his beloved a silver
[431] necklace, if he can afford it, while the girl in return gives him
a beautiful batik cloth which she has made herself (see the
chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); these gifts are /Ills. 22-25 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /89/ exchanged as a
matter-of-course and incidentally after the pleasures of love
have been enjoyed, and no girl is going to deny herself to a
young man who is unable to give her an ornament, if she likes
him otherwise. A girl is never influenced in the choice of her
partner by the prospect of receiving an ornament afterward.

M In contrast to my observations, Abadie (1) writes
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836 concerning the Meau: "Even cases of prostitution are reported, without its casting the slightest dishonor upon those concerned..."

1. Page 167.

Miao AE5

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A more detailed description, however, shows that this is without
114 doubt a case of degeneracy about such as the proximity of any
548 major station may bring about. The author speaks of a "sacred
836 grove" in the neighborhood of Dongvan and continues: "If a
European goes for a walk in this grove, one immediately sees
several Meau girls descend from the neighboring hills where
they work and offer the stroller their smiles and . . . the rest. . . "

836 The unmarried, mature boys and girls of the Meau meet
at suitable places along the edge of the fields or preferably at
night in the field huts, but never in a dwelling. Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 168.

even maintains in his work that lovers are forbidden to meet in
[776] any dwelling for a tryst, because this would offend the house
[688] spirits. If anyone were to violate this command, he would be
fined by the village elders, and the fine would be handed over
to the owner of the house. Thus if two young people wanted to
meet, they would have to agree on a place somewhere in the
jungle.

[343] The Chinese sources speak of special "love huts" of the
young people, which girls, beginning at the age of ten, are
allowed to visit (3).

3. Eberhard, II, p. 154.

[533] Singing and the jew's-harp (see the chapter, "Art," the
section on "Music and Musical Instruments")play an important
role at these meetings. The lovers hold hands and take turns
singing to each other or playing the jew's-harp for hours.
833 Gradually the music-makers proceed to the sexual overtures,
which are sometimes prolonged for hours. The partners
stroke chest, body, and back, touch and stroke the organs,
intertwine their legs, nuzzle each other, bite /90/ each other
[832] hard, and the like. The European kiss, on the other hand, is
unknown, as among most primitive peoples, as is touching the
mouth of the partner with one's own mouth, as well as erotic

/92 cont./

836 [562] With regard to the boys, however, the parents are positively proud of the successes of their sons in this respect. The chief, Tsin Tsai, for instance, told me that his second youngest son was especially clever with the girls. He had surely inherited this from him, because in his youth he had been called a "tiger among the girls"!

848 [842] It is strange that illegitimate children are relatively rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concerned immediately change their attitude, /93/ and the parents of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young [626] man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families put such pressure upon him that he practically always gives in. If not, he is obliged to pay any indemnity that the girl's [684] parents demand. If he is not in a position to do this, he has to marry for otherwise he would be severely punished by the chief of the village.

627 848 If a young man should deny paternity, the testimony of the girl, or the young mother, is valid in doubtful cases. She summons her parents and those of the young man and leads them to the place where she had her meetings with the young man. She describes details which almost always force the young man to withdraw his denials. Moreover, in the generally small communities, it is probably always known "with whom a girl is going, "as my informants said. On the other hand, if the [851] seducer pays the price asked by the girl's parents, the matter is regarded as settled, and the illegitimate child remains with the family of the mother and belongs to this family.

● 114 847 848 In contrast to my observations, separate authors report that the Meau try to get rid of illegitimate children through abortion or at the latest after the birth. Lajonquière (1),

1. II. p. 317.

for instance, writes: "If a child is conceived out of wedlock,

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/93 cont./
M an attempt is made, with the help of medicines, to bring about
914 an abortion. If this is unsuccessful, the child is abandoned
847 after birth and dies of hunger." These statements, which
848 Abadie (2) repeats verbatim, do not agree, as has been said, with my findings.

M Among the Meau the average age of marriage for the
827 young men is between sixteen and seventeen, that of the girls
582 about four years later.
In explanation of this age difference, I was told that it is
[163] only after this age that a girl's body is strong enough to bear without harm the minimum of ten children expected of a woman. Earlier births are said to weaken the organism, and the women turn into invalids and are no longer able to do the proper amount of work. The /94/ young men, on the other hand, are able to beget strong children at a much earlier age.
M As a consequence of this attitude the first wife of a Meau
595 is generally older, more mature, and stronger than her husband.
[152] The younger, later wives can therefore be all the more easily absorbed into the household, especially since jealousy plays no
[554] role at all. The first wife is the chief wife, to whom all the other wives are subordinate in every respect. Accordingly, she has a position of trust within the community.

A Among the Akha the father sleeps with the unmarried
864 sons, the mother with the unmarried girls, each in one room
[513] of the dwelling. During the night the father visits the mother,
[833] or vice versa, "when everybody is asleep," as my informant
A put it. Thus, even in the parents' house there is no barrier to
M prevent the children from observing sexual activities from the
[842] earliest age. Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are well acquainted with the physiological aspect of paternity. Nevertheless
A sexual freedom for unmarried persons prevails among them
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2. Page 165.

/101 cont./

184 584 Lajonquière (2) writes: "The wedding ceremonies seem to differ

2. II. p. 315.

somewhat in the details, but, taken as a whole, they are limited to the following: If a young man has his eye on a young girl, he informs his parents. His father selects two venerable men from his family to take gifts to the house of the girl. Among some Meau, these gifts consist of a small pig and alcohol; among others they are simply incense candles, which the go-betweens, as soon as they have arrived at the door, stick in the ground and light. In both cases, the father of the girl steps out-[574] side the door and /102/ invites the emissaries to partake of food [201] and drink. If he has the food served to them outside the house, it means that the proposal is rejected. If he asks them to step inside, the invitation itself means that it has been accepted and that the marriage formalities can be discussed immediately." [114] These statements were borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (1).

1. Page 165.

184 574 585 Lajonquière (2) then continues very explicitly: "A great

2. II. p. 316.

feast, or rather a series of feasts which last two days, is prepared. Two days of joy, during which all the friends and relatives, called together from afar, bring gifts to the bridegroom, which enable him to supplement the very substantial bridal gift which he has to give to the parents of his future wife. [583] This bridal gift sometimes is made up of 100 silver piasters, 100 kilograms of whiskey, a pig weighing one hundred kilograms, chickens, and so forth.

"When the day finally arrives, the young man, accompanied by his friends (there must be at least six men and two women), offers his gifts. The procession is gay on its journey and is led by mouth-organ players. A festive meal awaits them in the bride's house.

Miao AE5

/102 cont./

184 585 in the bride's house. This is the last night that the young woman will spend with her girl friends in her parents' home. The next day, the bride in festive garb, and, if the bridegroom belongs to a tribe different from hers, in the garb of his tribe, goes to the house of her father-in-law in the company of a large crowd of friends of both sexes. Behind her a friend carries a chest with her belongings. The procession, in all the colors of the rainbow and accompanied by the sound of instruments, sets out along the slopes while the inhabitants of the neighboring hamlets shout greetings down from the rocks which line the route.

"The ceremony takes place in the house of the young man through the introduction of the bride to her parents-in-law [782] and through the invocation of ancestors before the altar, if this [769] custom is practiced in the region concerned, for in several regions it is completely absent, and furthermore principally through dances, singing, and entertainments, which, depending on the means of the bridegroom, may last one or several days."

114 591 585 /103/ Abadie (1) borrows this description almost verbatim,

1. Page 166.

but adds that the young married couple have the choice of either starting an independent household or staying in the house of the bridegroom's father. The other authors and I myself did not find that the young couple was allowed to make this decision.

184 585 [584] Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes his description shorter: "The

2. Page 168.

father or the go-between must be the first to go forth and ask the bride's father for the hand of his daughter. All the preparations for the wedding are then made by the bride's parents. On the wedding day, the bride's father or the go-between leads

/103 cont./

184 585 the bride into the house of the bridegroom, and when appropriate offerings have been made to the spirits and the relatives of both families have celebrated sufficiently, the wedding is over. [583] Before giving their final consent, however, the bride's parents demand 'ngõn sin sot,' the money which is required for the wedding ceremony, from the bridegroom in accordance with their position and their expenses, but at least 150 ticals . . . . [426] but if the groom should be unable to raise such a sum at the moment, the bride's parents give it to him on credit."

583 426 This extending of credit for the purchase price is confirmed by the other two authors. Lajonquière (3), for instance, writes in this connection: "If a young man cannot raise the sum required for a splendid wedding, he is still able to ask for the hand of even a rich girl. The family of the latter then defrays all the costs of the celebration. In turn the young couple is obligated to serve for one or several years in the house of the girl's parents or to buy themselves free by paying a certain sum." [114] These statements were likewise borrowed by Abadie (1) /see footnote 1 above/ almost verbatim.

595 It may also happen, however, that a man does not choose a young and pretty girl as his secondary wife, but a widow with many children, in order to acquire a work force. The chief wife, of course, benefits most from this in every respect, since all this work force is directly under her. Such marriages are therefore viewed happily and actually favored by the chief wife.

114 184 595 Lajonquière's statements (3) /see footnote 3 above/ which we find repeated verbatim in Abadie (4) and according to which polygamy is permitted among the Meau, but the Meau takes a second wife only if the first one has remained sterile,

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3. II, p. 316.

4. Page 167.

/104/

114 184 595 may perhaps be true for certain regions where the Meau find themselves in especially tight economic straits. Dhuraratsadorn (1) probably writes more accurately: "A man may take

1. Page 169.

as many wives as he wishes, but he needs the permission of his chief wife to do so. The concubines have to work for the husband and the chief wife like ordinary servants." Savina (2) adds that

2. II, p. 226.

polygamy is widespread among some tribes of the Meau, but is unknown among others.

583 614 [596] Among the Meau the bride price plays an important role; the entire large /extended/ family of the young husband helps to raise it. If the wife should for any reason later return to her parents, they must pay it back. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the sib is very interested in the good conduct of the married couple and is intent on not letting dissension between the young people become serious.

184 584 Abadie (3) reports on a strange custom which he describes

3. Page 166.

as follows from the Meau of the Pha-Long region: "They arrange a kind of marriage market. Here young men and girls, who have come from the surrounding area for several miles, meet one another. This meeting takes place on a plateau covered with grass. The young men and girls form groups which, at a distance of about twenty paces, turn their backs to each other. [533] These groups sing simple antiphonal songs in which the young men boast of their skill, strength, and wealth, while the young girls extol their housewifely virtues and the richness of their trousseau. A droll word often arouses general merriment; the laughter, singing, and dancing of the men, who play the

Akha AO4
MiaoAE5

/109 cont./

M
174 to selling one's own wife. Some persons perhaps consider the intermediary activities of the Chinese traders as wife purchase
583 (see the chapter, "Trade"). I do not think that this is correct,
432 for, although young and pretty Meau women are sold outright
[648] by such traders, they are almost always temporarily accepted by the sib as unfree persons who are soon to marry a young man
[614] of the sib. Moreover, most of these cases concern women who
[736] have been unhappily married. I shall discuss this in detail in the section on "Dissolution of Marriage" in this chapter.

A Contrary to the statements in the Siam Soc. Report (1),

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1. I. p. 167.

I did not find any such activities by the Chinese traders among the Akha.

f) Marriage Obstacles and Regulations

M Theoretically there is no tribal endogamy among the
582 Meau in Thailand, so that here the Meau may marry their
648 neighbors, the Tin, Kamuk, and, indeed, even Lao. Only
563 with respect to the Yau does a strict marriage prohibition exist. Since, however, I could not find a single instance of a Meau who had married someone outside his tribe, it can probably be said that in practice even a strict tribal endogamy prevails. On the other hand, marriages between the various Meau tribes, that is, between the White and Black Meau, and so forth (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"), are common.
M Even Lajonquière (2), whose statements are borrowed almost

●[114] 2. II. p. 193.

verbatim by Abadie (3), reports that in Indochina marriages be-

3. Page 165.

tween /110/ the various Meau tribes are customary, but those between Meau and other ethnic groups are rarer.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/110 cont./

A 835 614 178 [574] of the family participate. For this gathering pigs are slaughtered, and rice and alcohol are served. Then the two eldest divide the younger members of the family into two groups, each of which is placed under one of the two heads. Then the two elders decide to form different families from then on. From this moment on the members of the two newly-formed groups may intermarry, no matter what their actual blood relationship may be. /111/

A 582 Otherwise the great importance attached to the obstacles to marriage may be seen from the social customs, which in part are observed in such a way that the young people cannot be tempted to violate the existing obstacles to marriage (see the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

A M 582 [614] [621] Theoretically local exogamy does not prevail among either the Akha or the Meau. In the small Meau villages in northern Thailand, however, which are usually inhabited by only a single sib, it is observed in practice, since bearers of other family names are rarely found in one village. Except for the marriage restrictions described, however, there is a free choice of mates; among [illegible] the Akha nor the Meau can an individual be forced to select his partner from a certain sib or a certain village. Savina (1) speaks in general of exogamy.

A M [114] 1. II, p. 284.

It seems to me, however, that he does not interpret the concept quite correctly, for from his description of the conditions it becomes unmistakably clear that true tribal endogamy is involved.

g) Dissolution of Marriage

M 587 Upon the death of one of the spouses, the surviving party may marry again among both the Meau and Akha.

A [589] If the wife dies, the husband as a rule simply takes a new wife as though he had never been married (see the section on

/11^3 cont./
586 the rich and the poor. If the woman is young and pretty, it is
648 usually simple for the trader to persuade another rich Meau in a
[587] far-distant village to take the woman and to repay the bride
price to the first husband. Otherwise, the trader sells the
[583] woman as a prostitute to one of the Chinese brothels.
[548] In principle, the deceived husband has the right to kill
586 the adulteress and her seducer; in practice, this is hardly ever
837 done. Both Abadie (1) and Lanjonquière (2) write in the same

[114] 1. Page 167.

2. II.

words that generally the affair is settled through repudiation of
[184] the wife and repayment of the bride price. Dhuraratsadorn (3),

3. Page 169.

however, reports that among the Meau in Thailand, if a wife commits adultery, her husband can get a divorce only with her consent. If she refuses, the marriage has to be continued. He says that the wife has no divorce-right at all because she -- since she is not permitted to return to her parents' house -- would have to support herself. This could be done, however, only under the greatest difficulties.

[114] /11^4/ These statements sound improbable, and I did not
[184] find them confirmed among the Meau in Thailand. It is
possible, however, in case of a seduction of a wife, that the deceived husband asks his village chief to convene the popular assembly. In exceptional cases, the seducer may then be condemned to pay the entire bride price to the husband, while the wife must nevertheless remain with her husband as before.

586 Bad treatment is no more grounds for divorce than wife's
laziness or a husband's inability to support his wife or childlessness. In all these cases, too, the bride price is not repaid.

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/114 cont./

M 595 114 I did not find confirmation for Seidenfaden's assertion (1)

1. II.

M [597] that childless wives seek concubines for their husbands. It would be illogical anyway, because the husband can either acquire children from elsewhere through adoption or put an end to his childlessness through a new marriage, wholly as he wishes.

A 586 [264] [252] Among the Akha the husband may send his wife away at any time, and theoretically he alone is entitled to obtain a divorce. If he has such an intention, he has his wife prepare, not the customary disjointed chicken, but a whole one. Then both eat of it, and the husband bids his wife to be on her way. In practice, however, the Akha wife is also in a position to obtain a divorce. In such a case she simply runs away and asks her brother or some other male relative to go to see her husband and redeem her. To this end the husband is paid ten pieces of silver.

The wife's laziness and the husband's inability to support his wife are grounds for divorce. Property, house furnishings, and the like, as well as the legitimate children, remain with the husband; Telford (2) also reports this concerning the

2. Page 149.

A [422] [851] children. Personal ornaments and clothing, however, belong to the wife, who, after the divorce, returns to the house of her parents, unless she was seduced and marries the adulterer. If there are children from such an adulterous relationship, they always belong to the lover who has taken the woman.

A 586 837 In case of adultery, the lover must pay a large pig and /115/ 36 pieces of silver to the deceived husband, but the adulteress goes to the seducer. A wife deceived by her husband, however, returns to the house of her parents and takes with her all the house furnishings and the kitchen equipment. Moreover, the adulterer has to pay ten pieces of silver and defray

/117 cont./

764 114 Other forms of burial, including platform-burial, are unknown among the Meau in Thailand according to my observations, contrary to the statements made by Seidenfaden (2).

2. II. p. 173.

765 /118/ And just as little is known about any later digging up of all or part of the corpse. On the other hand, according to statements of the Meau, the Yau later clean the bones of their dead and then rebury them. Lanjonquière (1) heard similar

1. II. p. 319.

accounts, but reports: "It appears improbable that the Black Meau of Pakha dig up the bones again after three years, clothe them anew, and bury them again."

764 114 Contrary to my observations, Dhuraratsadorn (2) states

2. Page 173.

that, to be sure, no burning, but three types of burial are practiced among the Meau. As the first he names the lowering of the body sheltered in the coffin into the grave in the earth, as the second the erection of a high stone grave-mound on the grave, and as the third the platform burial. I do not find his assertions substantiated, however, either through personal observations or by other authors.

765 [292] The mourning period lasts twelve days. During this time, a white turban is worn by the closest relatives of the deceased, his parents and the surviving wives and children. Abadie (3), by the way, describes the same observation.

3. Page 153.

[582] [834] After the death of one of the parents, the children,

Miao AE5

/119 cont./

764 [775] This peculiar custom is also mentioned by Maspero (1).

1. Page 244.

who asserts that, instead of a dog, an ox is sometimes used.

Lajonquière's description continues: "On the third day, corpse and coffin are carried to the grave separately; moreover, a coffin is not always used. [789] In order to drive away evil spirits, small cannons are fired, or, if they are not available, guns, around the funeral procession. The latter consists of the sorcerer, the children of the deceased, and several friends. [767] In some regions the gravediggers march in step in a special way, which represents a kind of dance. As soon as the grave has been closed, a mound is heaped over it, which in Pakha, for example, is covered with flat stones. The bier on which the deceased was carried is smashed to pieces on it, a little food is left in the vicinity, and everybody returns home and ends the day eating and drinking...

765 775 "For one or two days, sometimes even longer, a member of the family returns to the grave in order to bring food to the deceased; then he is forgotten."

764 [114] [562] This description is borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (2).

2. Page 168.

who, however, adds that women do not take part in burials.

765 Lajonquière (3) stresses that actually there is no mourning

3. II, p. 319.

[302] among the Meau. During the three days of the funeral rites, the children of the deceased wear their hair loose and hanging down over their shoulders, but nothing is changed in their dress.

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M 764 [114] [789] Savina (1) reports briefly and likewise somewhat differently on the burial customs of the Meau: "As soon as someone has died, the drum is beaten and guns fired in order to drive away the evil spirits. People come to the house, bemoan the dead, and begin to drink liquor and to eat meat. On the third M day the deceased is buried under the supervision of a shaman. [787] The latter tosses a chicken into the air and sees from its fluttering [775] which way the soul will go. The grave is made, about a [825] meter deep, where it falls. The coffin is a hollowed-out tree trunk. A small mound is made on the grave with a few stones."

A 764 628 [203] [765] The burial customs of the Akha are similar at some points to those of the Meau. As among the latter, among the Akha, too, the guests from the surrounding villages are invited to the funeral by messengers. Until their arrival all work ceases in the mourning village; no one leaves the village, and moreover, as a sign of mourning, even the inhabitants of those villages from which a number of persons have set out for the funeral as mourners retire into their houses.

A 764 Among the Akha the deceased is washed and, attired in his best clothing and silver ornaments, is laid out on a sleeping mat, over which is put a new white cotton cloth. The corpse is put on its back, and, while it is still warm, the toes and hands are tied so that when rigor mortis sets in the limbs will remain in the desired position. It is seen to that the arms of the corpse are stretched out and that the palms of the hands remain turned toward each other. Members of the family, friends, and, in the case of distinguished men, many village inhabitants, squat beside the corpse and around the house of the dead and maintain the deathwatch day and night and utter the lament for the dead. The members of the family go from one to the other of those present, in order to serve everyone.

1. II, p. 229.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/129 cont./

M but apart from the basic tones many of these clothes have various
531 shades embroidered by hand or drawn with wax. Thus there are
[291] festive turbans with blue and white checks, women's skirts with
white flowers on a blue background among the 'flowery Meau,'
and the large sailors' collars with white stripes on a blue back-
ground, ornamented or embroidered in many colors."

Most of the ornamentation is limited to fabrics used for
clothing. In addition, the altars for the god of heaven, the
M ancestors, and spirits are decorated with bamboo paper into
[778] which simple ornaments are cut with special punches (see the
[782] chapter, "Religion and Magic"). Bowls, implements, and huts,
[413] however, are never decorated. /Fig. 14 appears here./

Thus I can unequivocally refute the assertion of
M Dhuraratsadorn who reports that the Meau know neither painting
[532] nor drawing. I found equally erroneous his assertion that individ-
● [114] ual Meau are masters of the art of carving and especially wood
sculpture.

A The situation is similar among the Akha. They, to be
532 sure, know no painting and, aside from simple designs on cloth-
[531] ing (see Colored Pl. I)[1] and silver ornaments, only a little draw-
ing. Nevertheless they do engage in plastic art in the form of
wood carving, though NOT universally. The wooden sculptures at
the arched gates of the village entrance (Ill. 45 and 48)[2] are
quite crudely done and show neither details nor trueness to
A nature. They are carved of soft wood and principally represent
[831] human figures in the act of copulation or individual figures
whose sexual characteristics are greatly emphasized (concerning
their significance, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic").
A The ornamentation of the Akha that is put on gate arches and
531 clothing is also primitive and predominantly shows the triangular
[276] pattern. The tobacco pipes, especially those of the girls, are
often ornamented with simple incised decorations (Fig. 14)
(also see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section
"Stimulants," as well as the drawings there, Fig. 302 and Fig. 303).

[1] [see cat 116, p120 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", p 297 AND p 333 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5

/141 cont./

539 whom the mothers sing in the evening awaken in the morning with the first light. Why then do mine, who have already slept so long, never awaken anymore?

"Every spring when the peach trees bloom by the houses, the little swallows return and again fill their old nests on the smoky roofs with eggs. Why do my children never return anymore to look at their poor little beds?

"Every year when the maize is in bloom in the fields, the cuckoos return to see once more the lonely trees on the mountains and the rocks on the banks /142/ of the turbulent river. Why then do my poor children never return to see their old mother?

When the fruits fall from the tree, they sprout and come up beside it. Why do my children, who sank down at my side, never rise again?

"The grains of rice send out shoots in the water of the rice fields, as do the kernels of maize in the fields surrounded by rocks. Then why do the children of poor mothers never grow up again out of their cold graves?"

● 114 533 The texts of these songs show that Abadie's statement (1),

1. Page 169.

"The songs in the language of the Meau are always humorous and even erotic," corresponds as little to the facts as the report by Lajonquière (2): "Their songs are always erotic and almost

2. II, p. 312.

never depart from the following theme: the singer addresses a woman who is passing by, asks her what the news is, invites her to sit down beside him, becomes obtrusive. When she continues on her way, he scolds or mocks her."

539 832 To be sure, there are songs which have such a content: "I have come to you in your house, and now you do not want to grant me your favors. Now I shall go to another house and there buy water for my money. The water there is colder than your's. When I drink it, I am happy, for then another girl loves me."

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Miao AE5

/143 cont./
A sung, such as the examples given above, are customary among
M the Akha as well as among the Meau, but always between the
533 different sexes. During them they often hold hands for hours
[832] and look into each other's eyes. Solo singing, on the other
hand, is done at every possible opportunity, for instance, when
[854] the mother rocks her baby to sleep, when the father carries his
son around on his back.

A Polyphonic singing in our sense is unknown; unison-singing
[535] is practiced only by the Akha and exclusively by the girls during their wooing dances. Several girls always sing and dance
[832] simultaneously (Ill. 24)[4] and thereby attract the attention of the
A young men at the dancing places with their erotic songs. Songs
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[177] or melodies are in no case borrowed from neighboring tribes.

All these observations show that both tribes, but especially the Meau, are artistically talented in various directions, which has already been said in the section on "Art in the Life of the Children" (the chapter, "Life in the Community"). When
M Dhuraratsadorn (3) writes that "the Meau do not know any
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3. Page 132.

538 stories or fairy tales, and have no /144/ special liking for singing or poetry, it can only be the result of some misunderstanding (see also the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales").

Musical Instruments

M That the Meau love music can be seen from their pre-
534 dilection for singing. Moreover, they have musical instru-
[533] ments and use gongs, rattles, and wind instruments. Their
love of music is confirmed by Lajonquière (1), as well as by

1. II, p. 311.

M
[237] Abadie (2). The latter also speaks of a small long-necked
[114]
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2. Page 168.

[4] [see crd 116, p124 - ANALYST]

/144 cont./

534 guitar with a body made of turtle shell which is covered with
[237] snail's skin /Schneckenhaut/, but I found such instruments
[114] only among the neighboring Thai peoples, and not among the
[171] Meau.

All wind instruments are blown with the mouth, not with the nose, and, with the exception of the simple rod flute /Stabflöte/ (Figs. 24 and 25), are vibration instruments. The tone is produced by making a metal or wooden diaphragm
171 vibrate. The mouth organ (Fig. 26) the characteristic instrument, in a somewhat modified form, for almost all the peoples
533 of Thailand, has been developed in its most ingenious and largest
534 form (Ill. 75)* among the Meau. It is regarded as a sacral in-
[778] strument (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo") whose tone is pleasing to the spirits. Usually many mouth organs are played simultaneously, and such mouth-organ concerts are altogether pleasing even to European ears and resound over many kilometers in the solitude of the mountains.
[562] Whereas among the Lahu, men as well as women play the mouth organ, this art is reserved exclusively for the men among the Meau, and among them the mouth organ, which is often made out of gourd shells among the other mountain tribes of Farther India, is carved carefully and solidly out of wood, usually mahogany, and is often mounted with silver.
534 The wooden body consists of two symmetrical halves, which are precisely fitted together and wound with bamboo strips, and the joints are smeared with buffalo fat. The holes for the pipes are burned into this wooden body, perpendicular to the joints, with a red-hot piece of metal, and, as the first pipe, the thickest one is inserted, the one /145/ identified as No. 6 in the drawing (Fig. 26). Pipe 5 is inserted next to pipe 6; its tone is a fourth lower. Pipe 3 follows, opposite No. 6, and is a fifth lower; then pipe 4, which is a fourth higher than pipe 3, then pipe 2, which is one octave lower than 6, and, finally, pipe 1, which is a seventh lower than 6.

* [see cat. 116, p574 - ANALYST]

MiaoAE5

/145 cont./

534 For the manufacturing process, the length of the pipes, which, along with the diameter, determines the pitch, is always chosen so that their tone is somewhat lower than the one actually aimed for; finally the instrument is tuned by appropriately shortening the tubes. Each pipe is provided with a /Figs. 24-27 appear here/ blow hole that leads into the body of the mouth organ, and with a keyhole that is stopped with a finger. The tone is produced by stopping the keyhole and blowing into the pipe. In addition the vibration parts for the mouth organ are so constructed that the same tone is produced by blowing air in or by sucking it out. Not until the end of the process is the silver mouthpiece put on. The construction of this instrument makes it possible to breathe while playing. Thus, during the sacral dances one can play uninterruptedly. This is very [535] important since the players always dance and play at the same time. The actual use of the instrument is best shown by the drawings and photographs. While the intervals between the individual pipe tones are fixed, the absolute pitch of the basic flute is left to the taste of the manufacturer; it also depends on the size of the instrument. Thus the mouth organs differ considerably from one another in basic pitch, but agree melodically. The use of the pitch pipe is not customary.

[533] /146/ Another instrument of the Meau, which is especially popular among lovers and is played by both sexes, is the jew's-harp (Fig. 27). It consists of a sheet of brass or bronze with a vibrating tongue in the middle. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the right thumb; the oral cavity acts as the sounding board (Ill. 77).[A]

Furthermore, there are two kinds of flute. The simple rod flute (Ill. 76)[A] consists of a wooden or bamboo body and has six finger holes on the upper side and one on the under side tuned in major. /Figs. 28-29 appear here./ The hole on the under side is sometimes stopped. The simple construction of the flute is shown in the drawings (Fig. 24 and Fig. 25). Both sexes play this flute as well as the one described below. [114 562 533] Lajonquière (1), too, mentions flutes and mouth organs. He

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1. II, p. 311.

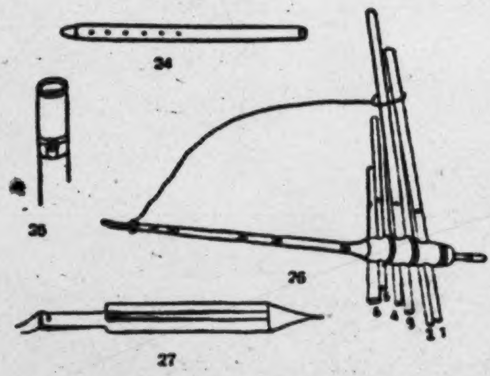
[A] [see cat 116, p 574 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5

/146 cont./

534 maintains, however, that their use is restricted to men. His [114] statement is very true concerning the mouth organ, but he errs [562] with regard to the flute, since I myself repeatedly saw Meau [533] women and girls playing it.

The vibration flutes (Figs. 28 and 29) of various sizes, which are played either as a rod flute or transverse flute, are used more commonly than the simple rod-flute. In addition to the blow hole, each flute has five finger holes burned into the upper side, in addition to one at the side that is stopped during the blowing. Accordingly, different tones are produced. As in the case of the mouth organs, the absolute pitch of the basic tone varies with the size of the instrument. [533] The six tones of the instrument, however, are accurately tuned in a simple minor scale. The construction of these flutes, like that of the mouth organs, is rather difficult, and there are only a few Meau who have mastered it. For example, in the area of the Meau villages [463] on the upper course of the Nam Fa, there was only one man who was skilled in this art and his flutes were used over a wide area. 533 Jew's-harps and flutes are popularly played by the guards in the [243] rice fields, who while away the time with them. Otherwise their sound is most commonly heard in the evening beside the hearth fire for the edification of the people.



Figs. 24-27. Musical Instruments of the Meau. Fig. 24, simple rod flute, 1/10 nat. size; Fig. 25, end-piece of the rod flute, with blow hole; Fig. 26, mouth organ. The wooden body is made of two symmetrical halves joined together and wound with bamboo strips. The six pipes are of bamboo, the mouthpiece of silver. About 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 27. Jew's-harp of brass or bronze, 1/3 nat. size.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/149 cont./

c) Dancing

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In the cult of the Meau, dancing plays an important role, as it does among the Akha, Lahu, and Lisu.

The Akha, like the Meau, know only one men's dance, which Abadie (1) as well as Lajonquière (2) confirm for the

1. Page 169.

2. II, p. 311.

Meau, while women's dances are not known at all among the Meau. The dance consists of quick turns and twists of the body; from time to time the dancer goes into a squatting position and then makes great leaps. Without paying any attention to the number of dancers present, each one moves independently while playing on his mouth organ, whose construction, as /150/ has been described, permits playing without pause. I never witnessed a dance where the mouth organ was not played.

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The dance of the Meau is purely a cult dance, and therefore the use of the sacral mouth-organ calls for the dance movements, and the latter, in turn, require the musical accompaniment. As was stated in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Old Age and Death," Lajonquière (1) asserts that in

1. II, p. 318.

some areas the coffin is carried to the grave in a kind of dance step. This would be the only occasion on which several Meau dancing at the same time execute the same dance movement. Furthermore the same author (2) states: The Meau dance when

2. II, p. 312.

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they are in a good mood, for instance, on market days, when they customarily imbibe heartily. They also dance in connection with certain ceremonies, for instance, a burial..." I was unable to confirm the first assertion; on the other hand,

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/150 cont./

M I did become acquainted with the dance of the Meau as a
114 definite cult dance which is performed in connection with the
535 festivals for the dead and burials in order to please the soul of
796 the deceased, and furthermore there is dancing during the New
[769] Year's festival in order to please the ancestors. Therefore I believe that a dance of the Meau on market days cannot be customary, since, as was pointed out, dancing is connected with the use of the sacral musical instruments, which, of course, are not used on market days.

A The ceremonial dance of the Akha men is more moderate
535 than that of the Meau. The Akha do not go into a squatting position, but alternately execute slight turns toward either side with the upper body and from time to time insert little jumps (Ill. 23).[1] Thus their dance is by no means wild, like, say, the dance of primitives, for example, but is more reminiscent of our old round dances.

Aside from this dance related to the cult activities, the dance also plays an important role among the Akha simply as an expression of the joy of life (see the chapter, "Life in the
A Community," section on "Sexual Development"). It offers the
[832] boys a splendid opportunity to put themselves in a good light before the girls and to display the nimbleness of their limbs.

The women's dance of the Akha -- a phenomenon unknown to the Meau -- consists of several figures and is likewise a /151/ round dance. The girls start in single file, grasp one another by the shoulders, and perform the steps of their round dance to the accompaniment of their songs. It is an obvious expression of love of life and high spirits when at the end each girl takes the leg of the girl in front in her right hand so that all of them are now hopping on one leg in a circle (Ill. 24).[2] These round dances of the girls have nothing to do with the cult of the
A Akha; they, like the non-cult dances of the boys, go with
[832] love life. The chief of the village of Kajäka remarked: "Our girls' dances are done only to entertain the young folk."

A The dancing takes place on special dancing places in the
M vicinity of the villages and preferably on moonlit nights. Only
535 the young people take part in these dances, no married women
883 of any age and young husbands only as exceptions among both

[1] [see cat 116, P 131- ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", P 132- "]

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/155 cont./

A 527 273 "Outside, on the open areas between the houses, the young people begin to assemble. They come hurrying from all directions, light-hearted from the good food and slightly intoxicated from considerable quantities of the rice liquor.

A 535 527 "As we step into the open, the sun is already sinking, but after the gloom of the house we must close our eyes in the piercing light. Here and there mouth organs are heard; the young men practice a little, gather in a circle, and begin to play and to dance even here between the houses. It is amazing how they can maintain the melody during the difficult dance steps, the bending of the body, and the leaps. The girls stand around admiring them and are an appreciative audience for the dancing skill of their friends. Little boys join the young men and try to imitate the steps of the adults. Toward sundown it becomes quieter in the village. Gradually the gay young dancers disappear and move to the nearby dancing places, where the girls' dances now begin and with them the moonlight frolics of the Akha young people."

/156/

Chapter 9

Religion and Magic

M 771 776 ●[114] The religion of the Meau is described by various authors as either a vague belief in spirits with a god of heaven as the chief spirit or, if it is more in harmony with an author's attitude and world view, as a monotheistic religion. Dhuraratsadorn (1), for

1. Page 172.

instance, speaks of "spirits of the clouds and ancestors." Lajonquière (2) reports: "The Meau vaguely worship a god of

2. II, p. 312.

the heavens, 'To,' and a god of the earth, 'Ang,' the spirits of the mountains, 'Sien-Chen,' the spirit of thunder, 'Lu-Chen,' the ancestors, 'Dang,' and the goddess, 'Kouan-Yin,' who blesses human beings and animals, but whose story they do not

Miao AE5

/156 cont./
know. They believe in a fantastic mythical animal that lives
771 in the water, the dragon 'Long-Wang,' and, finally, they
776 worship the hearth spirit, 'Tsao-Chen.'" Abadie (3) reports the
● [114] same almost verbatim, but adds that the Meau actually have no religion at all and manifest an independence toward the deities just as they do toward human beings.

Both authors come to the conclusion that "the Meau do not live in constant fear of invisible evil spirits that are filled with hatred against the human beings. They wander unconcerned through their mountains entirely without prejudice." I, too, was struck by this character trait, especially as a great contrast to the attitude of the Lahu. In other respects, however,
[114] the opinion of these authors differs radically from that of the
[797] Catholic missionary, Savina (4), who wants to see the god of heaven of the Meau /157/ elevated to a high god and, correspondingly, the other spirits reduced to minor spirits without influence, in such a way that then the conceptions of the Meau seem to harmonize very well with those of Catholicism: "The Meau never confuse spirits with God, do not ascribe any divine powers to them, and do not pay homage to them as they do to God."

177 Maspero takes the opposite view: "The religion of the Meau has been strongly influenced by Chinese Taoism. The
771 native sorcerers are almost the pupils of the Taoist ones.
776 Every family reveres the hearth god, as well as Kouan-yin
[114] as the protector of the house. At the beginning of the year sacrifices are offered to heaven and earth, and in the course
[782] of the year almost all the great Chinese festivals are celebrated. Moreover, the Meau are familiar with the transmigration of
[775] souls. The evil ones are banished into hell, where Ni-wan, the Chinese Ye-wang, presides. There is also a realm of the dead which is similar to the realm of the living."

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3. Page 168.

4. II, p. 253.

/157 cont./

771 114 Under these circumstances I deemed it especially important to investigate the religious element of the Meau with the utmost care. I shall deal with the activities of the Christian missions in a special section of the chapter on "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand." Before dealing with the native religious elements of the Meau, I must point out that at first it was difficult to penetrate into the spiritual culture of the Meau. The Meau, to be sure, do not hesitate to perform their incantations and sacrifices in the presence of strangers, but they do maintain secrecy about certain things, especially concerning religion, before persons who do not belong to the community. Chance and some knowledge of medicine helped me probe more deeply into features of the sacral life of the Meau.

123 [753] [774] [164] Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, became sick. His father took heart and came to me, bemoaning the fate of his son. According to Meau opinion, his soul had gone wandering and was prevented from returning by evil spirits. The efforts of the shamans had been in vain. I was easily able to determine that the sick Lü had tropical malaria, a fatal sickness for the Meau. I told the chief that many little evil spirits had entered his son's body and were sucking out the red blood. Under /158/ these circumstances it was not surprising that the soul did not dare to return to the body. He should once more ask the shaman to try his incantations, and I, too, would call on my spirits, firmly convinced that our combined efforts would be crowned with success. -- The shaman came and declared himself willing to undertake the experiment. After the ceremony, which I describe in detail in the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens" in this chapter, I treated the patient for malaria, which cured him of his affliction. Through this I won the sincere gratitude of the chief, and since I had declared that the shaman's assistance was absolutely necessary for the patient's recovery, he, too, was well disposed toward me. Hence everybody supported me in every conceivable way in my investigations, and I was able to penetrate more and more deeply into the spiritual culture of the Meau.

/159 cont./

774 sib comes into the world. It makes no difference whether the
775 person to whom the soul belonged was good or evil in his
614 previous lifetime.

In contrast to this, Lajonquière (1) reports: "Human beings have three souls, 'pli,' which arise again after twelve months when they enter the body of a pregnant woman. The souls of evil men are reborn in a frail child which is doomed to a miserable life and speedy death. Those of young unmarried girls haunt the paternal home, as do the souls of small children, which are reborn in the same family. All these conceptions, which are generally vague and sometimes contradictory, appear to us more like fortuitously discovered
[114] stories than native doctrine." Although Abadie (2) has borrowed these statements, too, almost literally, they have not gained in probability, at least for the Thailand area. There is much more of an impression that both authors -- for whatever reasons -- did not probe deeply into the complex religious conceptions of the Meau. I was able to determine the following:

753 According to the view of the Meau, a person becomes
774 sick when the soul does not return, but then, too, the soul leaves the body when a person becomes sick. One notices this by the fact that the person loses the zest for living and seems to be absent-minded. When a person dies, /160/ the soul is
775 always absent. It then returns to the dead body and takes up residence in it until it is buried. Then it leaves the dead body, but remains for three days in the vicinity of the grave. During this period it is given food which is placed on the grave by the survivors. Then it returns to the house and takes up permanent residence there until it is reborn. If the ~~direct~~ family dies out, the soul takes up residence in the house of the nearest blood relatives. When I asked what would happen if the

ings have three souls,

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1. II, p. 313.

2. Page 169.

/160 cont./

775 sib died out, the informants repeatedly gave me the answer: "That does not happen." When I pointed to other peoples, it was said: "Well, we do not know what souls would do in such a case." They could not tell me any more about what happened to the souls of the insane or cretins, and similarly there was [828] no explanation for fainting.

769 114 [775] When the Meau change their residence site, the souls of the dead leave the old house along with the migrants, after they have been informed of the change of location through a special ceremony. They then migrate with them and take up residence in the new dwelling of the family. Contrary to my findings, Lajonquière (1) reports that the souls stay in the old houses in case of a change of residence: "A Meau who was asked by a missionary whether he worships his ancestors answered: 'Yes, they are there, and we do not take them with us!'" It seems to me that this is undoubtedly an error, for otherwise the confirmed ancestor worship and the cult associated with it among the Meau could not be explained. I do not think that there is a misconception on my part because my data are largely confirmed by various observations of other authors, and moreover a cult of the kind practiced by the Meau without the presence of ancestors could only be regarded as absurd.

753 774 If a soul does not find its way back to the body, it is commonly assumed, as was said, that evil spirits prevent it from doing so, but it may also happen that it simply loses its way. That is, it is inquisitive and goes into the region of the clouds or into distant primeval forests among strange peoples and in doing so travels dangerous and devious paths. The owner of such a wandering soul /161/ grows weak and wastes [761] away; if one does not succeed in calling the soul back, the person dies.

775 761 The dead and their souls are not feared. The dead body remains in the grave and decomposes; it can never return. If it should actually come back to life, this could only mean that there was a mistake and that the person had

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II. p. 319.

Miao AES

/168 cont. /

231 If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect
776 a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters
from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here
[731] the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a
[789] guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading
the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is
[243] followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom
[775] of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the
[114] Meau, who call him nă thu pen dǫ nǎ thu /169/ pě dǒ. Savina (1)
[775] gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is
turned to when especially important reasons come up, for in-
[931] stance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore espe-
[825] cially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals
of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high
[224] Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him
with their request for rich booty.

[773] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who
created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the
chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who
[821] makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear concep-
[626] tion as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They pre-
sume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

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1. II. p. 243.

/186 cont./

756 the hands of the dead." (In this connection I refer to my remarks [764] concerning this author and the objectives of his investigation in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales," pp. 302-303.)

Lajonquière (1) gives the following portrayal: "Among the

1. II. p. 313.

Meau there are some individuals, half priests and half sorcerers, without a cult or ordination, who, however, ascribe to themselves [787] supernatural powers. They close their eyes and release their soul from the mortal body so that it may make contact with the spirits in the depths of the earth. As special clothing, the sorcerers merely have a white veil which they put over their faces before the ceremony. Music and dancing play an important role in this, but it always ends with an elaborate feast."

According to the data of the various authors cited and my [114] own observations, an error must be involved when Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 172.

writes that the Meau have no priests at all. At any rate, I could find a very clear separation of the activities of the male and female shamans from those of the other Meau, who, to be sure, also perform various magical procedures. Among them there is 789 the hunting magic, which is practiced by successful hunters both 224 among the Akha and the Meau without requiring the help or 223 the presence of the shaman. For this magic the hunter must smear the front part of his crossbow with the blood of the slain animal. He then glues a few hairs or feathers, depending on whether a bird or other game is involved, to the blood and now believes that he will soon again be equally successful with the 756 weapon. It is possible that such magical procedures which are feasible for every Meau have led to the view that this people has no individuals who can be regarded expressly as priests, that is, shamans. On the contrary, the activity of the shamans is very extensive.

/204 cont./

778 The smith, for instance, erects an altar for the teacher-spirit of the
776 smiths, the shaman for the teacher-spirit of the shamans, etc., and thus there are many places of worship, each dedicated to a different deity. Not all of the good or neutral spirits by any means, however, have such altars or sacrificial places.

776 There is a single spirit to whom sacrifices may be offered
782 anywhere, irrespective of special places of worship. This is the bisexual, high Father-Mother spirit, for he alone has the power and the ability to be omnipresent. Nevertheless, for him, too
[796] the principal sacrifice at the New Year's festival is offered at a sacrificial place dedicated to him.

778 These little altars seem to be very simple among the Meau
[114] in Tonkin. Lajonquière (1) gives the following description, which

1. II, p. 313.

we also find almost verbatim in Abadie (2):

2. Page 168.

"... The family altar usually consists only of sheets of red paper with gold dots, which are pasted against one of the walls. Or even simpler, of a small table, on which stands a small cup made of bamboo, which is filled with sand. At certain times,
[782] one or two incense candles are lighted and placed upon it, which is the extent of ordinary worship."

778 Among the Meau in Thailand, I also occasionally found small
782 altars erected to the good spirits in the rice fields and gardens,
243 which were supposed to protect the crops. Sacrifices are often offered to these spirits, however, at a particular place in the dwelling after returning from the field or before leaving for work in the fields.

782 The New Year's festival has extraordinary cultic significance.
796 On this occasion, sacrifices are offered to all of the good and evil spirits as well as to the ancestors, in addition to all the other
[769] prescribed and voluntary sacrifices. The festival of the New Year lasts four /205/ days and begins on the day of the new moon in December. Many days earlier careful preparations have been

/209 cont./
484 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having
782 its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invocations. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

574 It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moderate
are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so
782 that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means
114 for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example:
261
[769] "In contrast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly observed among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples. Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings, are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking and feasting."

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau
[796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house, as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time
[776 241] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the

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1. Page 167.

2. II, p. 313.

3. Page 168.

4. Page 169.

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[241] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."
[527] Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by

782 796 the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice
to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors,
offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper.
On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and
collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sow-
ing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by
offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."
In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that
Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or
sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connec-
tion with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly
incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and
sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however,
[177] are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and
incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are
made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

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1. II, p. 314.

2. Page 173.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/215 cont./

A to him there (see the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this
782 chapter). On certain occasions each year sacrifices are regu-
[778] larly offered to a number of spirits, as has already been reported
[241] in the section referred to.

A Among the Akha, too, the New Year's festival has great
782 importance with regard to sacrifices, since at this festival, which,
796 as among the Meau, lasts four days, sacrifices are likewise made
[769] to the ancestors and all of the spirits in accordance with their significance. Telford (1) has found similar conditions among the Akha in Kengtung: "The New Year's festival lasts four days. The people eat rice cakes and chickens and drink tea and liquor. Part of this is
A [769] offered to the spirits, for the core of this festival is the feeding of the ancestral souls."

Aside from the fixed times, among the Akha -- as among the Meau -- sacrifices are offered whenever special occasions require it, such as sickness, misfortune, death, and birth, but also in
A [688] case of a violation of a taboo and similar occurrences. Sacrifices are primarily offered by the shamans, but also by the village elders, the family fathers, and, substituting for them, their wives.

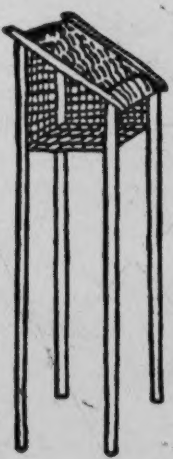

Fig. 56
Little sacrificial
house of the Akha.
1/40 nat. size.

A /216/ Both tribes use food, meat or whole animals, field
M products, and alcohol, as sacrifices. The pig is the most im-
782 portant sacrificial animal, followed by chickens and dogs.
[231] Pieces of the meat of all the other animals eaten are to be sure, similarly sacrificed, as are those of every other food, which
A is shared with the ancestors and spirits, but these animals are not
M associated with the cult. Savina (1) reports that the Meau in

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A [778] 1. Page 109.

[764] [114] 1. II. p. 200.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/216 cont./

A Indochina slaughter six buffalo when a chief dies and two upon the
M death of a common man. Scott (2) reports that upon the death of
782
764 2. Page 275.
114

an Akha five buffalo are killed. Unfortunately, however, in all the cases it is not apparent whether these are sacrifices or merely roasted meat for the survivors and guests, or both.

M Like the Meau, the Akha, too, do not know human sacri-
114 fice or the offering of human flesh. The statement in the old
266 Chinese literature (3) that the Meau eat their slain enemies raw,
782
A 3. *Album Gotha*, No. 38.
[782] as well as the general remark (4) that cannibalism occurs, prob-

4. Eberhard, II, p. 266.

ably has nothing to do with sacrifice or religion. In my opinion the Chinese authors simply wanted to impute to their mortal enemies a crime which is particularly wicked in the eyes of the Chinese.

A Among the Akha there is a noteworthy custom of taking
825 the skull and lower jaw of certain animals taken while hunting,
178 such as bear, muntjac, and wild pig, and fastening them for
[782] the house spirit in front of his little niche between the two rooms of the dwelling (see section, "Deities and Spirits," of the present chapter). In some places among the Akha one finds rows of monkeys' skulls nailed to the roofs. Today the Akha explain this custom as an attempt to beautify the dwelling of the house spirit and sometimes the house itself. The question was sometimes answered: "We do this because our ancestors did it." In other words, tradition was given as the reason for the custom.
A Might this perhaps be a relic of a lost head-hunting cult? The
[727] taboo on killing the hornbill, which will be mentioned later,
[174] likewise points in this direction.

39: Bernatzik--300 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/219 cont./

A 784 All these prohibitions are in force for all the Akha who are in a situation connected with a taboo, for instance, pregnancy or sickness. There is no taboo that embraces social or political groups.

Every taboo is strictly observed. Transgression do occur, of course, but only through carelessness. A [688] [787] [756] The transgressor always hastens to the shaman and immediately tells him what has happened, whereupon the shaman questions the offended spirit as to the form of expiation required of the transgressor.

A 123 609 784 The prohibition that strangers may not walk about alone in the village borders on taboo. I was told that such an act offends the spirits, whose wrath is then felt, not by the stranger, but by the inhabitants of the village. I had the impression, however, that this was more a pretext to prevent our investigations in the villages, since it was apparently disagreeable to the Akha to be watched by us. A [126] I therefore, for example, had to take my photographs with telescopic Tessar lenses from a great distance.

A 178 784 [756] If one tries to obtain an explanation for the taboos, the answer is always: "Because the spirits wish it and our /220/ ancestors did so." The prohibitions were therefore handed down from ancient times and cannot be modified or moderated by the shamans, just as they likewise do not have the power to create new taboos.

A 779 As numerous as the taboo rules are, the Akha, too, do not have any totemistic conceptions in any form.

/221/

Chapter 10

Myths and Fairy Tales

M 114 538 773 Undoubtedly myths and fairy tales must be present in considerable numbers among all the mountain peoples of Farther India. Nevertheless, relatively few became known to me from the Meau in Thailand, and even in the literature I was able to find little about the fund of Meau myths.

/223 cont./

539 happened with two coins. Thus the will of heaven had become apparent, and brother and sister cohabited. Their child, however, had neither a head nor hands and feet; it was round like an egg. Perhaps the child is sitting in the egg, they thought, but that was not the case. The pieces which were cut from the egg, however, turned into children. For this reason the egg was divided into as many pieces as possible. The result was an endless number of children, and the earth became repopulated."

114 539 797 Savina reports a number of myths which show an astonishing similarity with Old Testament accounts. He stresses the precise and unaltered transmission of tradition by the Meau. Among the Meau in Thailand I likewise found several myths which, on the whole, seem similar in content to the narratives given by Savina, but they show considerable deviations at decisive points. There are two explanations for these differences. Either the author, under the influence of his own world-view, has involuntarily influenced the statements of the Meau, or the ancestors of the Meau studied by him were at one time under the influence of Christian missionaries. This would not be impossible since it is known that Christian missionaries have been active for centuries in the old territories occupied by the Meau in South China, though the Meau there deserted these territories as a result of the various struggles previously discussed in the chapter, "History." Thus, it is conceivable that the Christian elements adopted, which /224/ show a remote resemblance to the peculiar conceptions of the Meau, were woven in, and Savina then regarded this mixture as characteristic manifestations of the Meau. Under these circumstances the ethnological conclusions that Savina ties in with this fund of myths which he discovered are to be accepted with caution.

539 Savina (1) relates in detail the Meau legend concerning

1. II, p. 243.

the creation of the earth:

"The Lord of Heaven, Ndo Chu or Chu Lau, created heaven and earth in seven days, first heaven, and then earth. The earth

MiaoAE5

/227 cont./

539 756 to revive their dry bones. Mad with grief, they threw their medicine into a cave and decided to die. Their countrymen tried in vain to prevent them from doing so. They did not succeed, but Ngionggi and Xigi consoled them by saying: 'After our death shall appear to some of you in your dreams in the shape of a virgin and teach you how to cure the sick. Consult these men when you are ill, and you will recover!' Since that time the Meau consult their shamans whenever they are sick."

539 114 I could not find any legends that tell of the historical development of the Meau, nor have other authors, so far as I know, published such legendary material. Only Von Eickstedt (2) recorded a legend of the Meau, and a similar version is also reported by Leuschner (3). Von Eickstedt asserts that it is a Man legend, which, however, is also claimed by the Meau: 171 539

/228/ "The Chinese emperor Ti Ku (about 500 B.C.) is said to have promised the hand of his third daughter and the advantages accruing from this to the one who would rid him of his most dangerous enemy, who would kill the latter and bring his head. A yellow dog by the name of Pan Hu heard this, accomplished the deed, and married the princess, who bore him six sons and six daughters. From these stem the various Man tribes. A division of the realm took place, according to which the Chinese were given the valleys and the Man the mountains."

Von Eickstedt correctly concludes that when the Chinese, during an attack by presumably northern warlike nomads, turned to the neighboring mountain peoples for help and the latter actually defeated the enemy, the chief of the mountain peoples was given a daughter of the imperial house along with the political advantages connected with it.

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2. II, p. 52.

3. Page 44.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5 ●

/231 cont./

A According to the symptoms that became known to me, other
M epidemics can seemingly be traced back to diarrhea, typhoid
164 fever, and dysentery.

●114 Unfortunately, nothing has as yet been published on the susceptibility or resistance of the mountain peoples to the various diseases. To be sure, the Census of Burma (1), for example, gave some statistics on the various diseases, but most of the mountain peoples were undoubtedly able to avoid inclusion in the statistics /232/ -- at least a substantial part of them is in practice not included at all (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"). Furthermore, the Census of Burma confounds the natives of various races and cultures. I need only point out the example of the relatively strong resistance of the Schan /Shan/ peoples to malaria, or the catastrophic susceptibility of the mountain peoples, especially the Meau and Akha, to this disease, in order to show how useless the statistics of the Census are for this purpose.

A Both peoples are well aware of the fact that they contract
M malaria in the lowlands, even though the belief in spirits is
164 drawn upon for an explanation, as is shown by the example of the
753 Meau village that was moved because of malaria. Even the
A Akha who travel to Kengtung on market days in order to sell
their wares never spend the night in the city, but on the heights
443 of the surrounding mountains. Even if they have sold only part
753 of their wares and a longer stay in the city would facilitate their
business, they prefer to return to the city on the following day
and to take the wearisome trip back and forth in the bargain.
They explain this custom by saying that in Kengtung there are
evil spirits who would send them fatal sicknesses during the night.

A Among the endemic illnesses occurring in the two mountain
M peoples there are plague, bubonic plague, typhoid fever,
164 amoebic dysentery, bacillary dysentery, and various forms of
worms, especially hookworm and trichinosis. One often sees

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1. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 112.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/234 cont./

M basis of their fine gift of observation, experience, and diagnostic
755 talents. This attempted cure through conjuration is thus em-
[164] ployed especially in the case of an outbreak of epidemics, such as the plague, and for malaria, amoebic dysentery, cretinism, mental diseases, and so forth. Such observations undoubtedly prompted Savina (1) to make the following remarks:

1. II, p. 259.

M
[753] "The Meau regard all sicknesses as punishment from heaven or as an act of revenge on the part of evil spirits. In the first case, the shamans recite prayers in front of an altar. In the second case, they drive the spirits out of the patient and swing swords in doing so. Also, coins in the shape of a cross are sewed on the patient's clothes (on the back). Human figures made of cloth are sewed on the back or the stomach. Paper dolls are pasted on the walls and above the altar."

M Aside from the shamans, some of whom are not unskilled in
757 medicine, there are men among the Meau who fight illness with
[759] the help of their medicines. They sometimes also prescribe remedies, according to the results of questioning the oracle
[787] about it, but in such cases they let the spirits /235/ make the choice between such medicines which, according to their view, might be useful in the particular case of illness.

M Under these circumstances, the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn (1),

[114]
[177]

1.Page 172.

who advocates the view that the Meau usually use the medicaments of the Haw (Western Chinese) since they themselves have no knowledge of medicine, is undoubtedly inaccurate.

A This is much more the case among the Akha, who are
753 much more helpless against sickness than the Meau are. The
782 Akha believe that all sickness is the work of evil spirits and
776 try to protect themselves by means of offerings which are supposed to propitiate the spirits.

Miao AE5

/237 cont./

177 the horn of the rhinoceros. Furthermore, the penis of a steer,
278 which is taken pulverized, is regarded as a good aphrodisiac.
832 Among the medications of the Meau many efficacious ones may be found in view of the intelligence and excellent
757 power of observation of these people, as well as the fact that
278 they are often successful in combatting disease. In my opinion
● 114 it would be quite worthwhile for our modern medicine to test the medications of the Meau pharmacologically. We must not forget that a whole series of our medicines go back originally to medicinal plants of peoples usually much more primitive than the Meau. I shall mention here only opium, kola, cocaine! It can hardly be assumed that among the hundreds of medicines that the Meau physician uses no actually useful ones would be found.

Unfortunately I was not permitted the time to occupy myself with this special problem. In addition, my botanical knowledge was not sufficient for classifying the medicinal herbs put before me. Hence I had to limit myself to listing the names of the most important drugs in order to obtain at least a general view of those diseases that the Meau themselves are able to treat successfully.

845 In obstetrics the Meau are quite skillful. For example, even in transverse presentation they are able to turn the child in the uterus by reaching in through the vagina with the hand and assisting the work of the hand through massage from the outside.
752 They are most skillful, however, in the treatment of bone fractures, which are carefully set and bound with two splints and bandages. On the other hand they are not capable of doing
[845] trepanation and surgical operations, such as the opening of abscesses, Caesarean section, and so forth.

278 Arrow poison plays an important role among the Meau. It is said to be very effective, so that only two arrows shot from the crossbow is sufficient to kill even the strongest gaur within three or four hours. Possibly a poison affecting the heart may be involved. /238/ Extraordinary care is devoted to its manufacture. The basic substance is obtained from the bark of certain trees in the primeval forest, probably euphorbias according

39: Bernatzik--337 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/250 cont./

683 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is prac-
754 ticed among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Out-
lawing is likewise unknown.

692 Offenses against custom are judged by the village chief
622 or the great chief. Crimes, which very rarely occur among the
634 Meau, are judged by the great chief. In such cases the village
elders and the village chief appear as examining magistrates.

[689] Dhuraratsadorn (1), too, points out that homicide and
674
114
crimes of violence are for the most part unknown within the family community, which he designates erroneously as "clan." He assumes that robbery might occur if it becomes known that a member of the community has received a large sum of money through the sale of opium or the like. The author then continues by saying that this offense had never occurred in the district of San Mahapon with which he is familiar, but characteristically he explains this not on the basis of the morality of the
[454] Meau, but by their custom of not carrying any money with them,
much less keeping it in their houses, but of carefully hiding it somewhere. I was unable to confirm the custom of "money-hiding" among the Meau, but I did find it among the Lahu; hence I assume that there is some confusion on the part of the author.

682 The punishment for murder in connection with robbery or homicide is execution. It is reported of some Meau tribes in China (2) that buffalo were paid as a fine for homicide. Only
[634]
685 the great chief, however, can give the sentence. The same
punishment befalls anyone who commits simple robbery or theft
439 from traveling merchants. The harsh appraisal of this offense goes back to the fact that the traveling merchants, all of them Chinese, bring wares that are important to the Meau, but those areas in which there is danger of robbery and theft would be avoided.

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1. Page 171.

2. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

/351 cont./

226 The statements in the literature about the fishing of the
[114] Meau vary, depending on which territory of the Meau the
[114] authors visited. For instance, the information by Abadie (1)

1. Page 1[illegible]2.

is completely opposite to my own observations. He writes: "The Meau are no fishermen, since fish are quite rare in the upper course of the mountain streams. They eat fish, how-
[262] ever, both fresh and dried, whenever the opportunity presents itself."

On the other hand, the observations that Savina (2) con-

2. II, p. 230.

veys are entirely different again: "In the evening, after the meal, the young people like to go fishing and search half the night under the rocks. One sees weirs at the foot of all the waterfalls. If one gives pins to the children, they immediately make angling hooks out of them. Communal fishing by villages usually takes place at the beginning of summer,
[312] when dams are built in the watercourses in order to put the
[241] rice fields on the mountain slopes under water. Then the
[278] fish are poisoned by means of the bark and leaves of certain trees, which are thrown into the water in the upper course of the stream."

226
278 Among the Meau in northern Thailand whole troops of men, women, and children join together in order to pursue their favorite pastime, fishing with poison. First the leaves and bark of a certain tree are collected in the forest. When eight carrying baskets are filled, /352/ they are taken to the village, two additional baskets are filled with wood ashes, and then they all set out. When suitable places are reached, that is, deep places in the river bed fed by a scant supply of water, men, women, and children pound with cudgels the bark and the leaves brought along, mix the wood

39: Bernatzik--489 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Mias AE5

/360 cont./

243 14. Sorghum, negro corn, is of minor importance for Thailand, to be sure, but must be mentioned here for the sake of completeness. Sowing and harvesting take place at the same time as that of maize, which corresponds with the observations made by Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ in Tonkin.

244 [184] [243] [252] In general the customs of the Meau here and there seem to correspond with regard to agriculture. Lajonquière (2) /see footnote 2 above/ also mentions a number of kinds and varieties of vegetables, such as beans, peas, gourds, broad beans, cucumbers, and in addition a kind of grass, called "caolien," out of which the Meau there bake cakes. These field products, classified by the author under the name of "secondary cultures," /361/ are planted, according to his description, between the furrows of the maize fields and ripen at the same time as the latter.

351 241 [244] Vegetables, aside from the large-scale cultivation in the fields, are also cultivated in gardens for daily use by the Meau in Thailand. Lajonquière (1) noticed special house-

1. II, p. 310.

gardens in Indochina: "In the gardens, which they arrange around the houses, the Meau harvest radishes, eggplant, beans, peas, and also tobacco in sufficient quantities for their personal needs." [249]

[184] [245] The Meau in Thailand, to be sure, do not plant eggplant, but in the vicinity of their houses they cultivate in particular bananas and fruit trees, such as lemon, lime, and in rare cases orange trees. According to the statements of the author just cited (2) "the houses of the Meau in Indochina, on the

2. Page 309.

other hand, are surrounded by a circle of fruit trees which are not fenced off on the outside." The multiplicity of the [114] kinds of fruit there is clearly expressed in a description by

Miao AE5

/361 cont./

351 241 245 ● 114 Savina (3): "There are as yet no fruit trees, but that is still to come, and, to be sure, next. In the next fruit season one goes to the neighboring villages, stuffs himself with pears, plums, apples, and apricots, 'remembers his mother, sister, and little ones,' and returns home with a full carrying-basket. The pits of these fruits are thrown into the thicket and germinate there. In a few years, fruit trees come up. This is the origin of the fruit trees that are seen around all Meau villages. Not a single one has been planted."

The author's statement that the fruit trees are not planted, but rather owe their existence to the pits haphazardly and thoughtlessly thrown away, cannot be upheld by anyone who -- as I did -- has seen how carefully the Meau select, plant, and tend their fruit trees.

248 I report on plants used in spinning and dyeing in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

412 The agricultural equipment of the Meau in Thailand will
probably be best explained by the drawings. The small
243 crescent-shaped rice-knife (Fig. 268) is typical for the Meau. It is wound around the four fingers of the right hand by means of a string fastened to it, the stalk is seized with the thumb and the third finger, /362/ the cutting edge of the knife is pressed against the stalk with the ring finger and the little finger and cuts it (Ill. 95).[1] These knives vary in size, depending on whether they are intended for children or adults.
412 Other cutting instruments are: sickle (Fig. 271), chopping knife (Fig. 272), and the knife for harvesting poppies (chapter, "Stimulants," Fig. 289). Furthermore, the Meau have at their disposal the ax (Fig. 273), digging stick (Fig. 267), hoe (Figs. 269 and 270), weeding rake (Figs. 274 and 275). The
407 plow, on the other hand, as was described, is not in use among
184 the Meau in Thailand and has already fallen into oblivion, whereas it is still in use among the Meau in Tonkin, in accordance with its geographical feasibility. Abadie (1)

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3. II, p. 185.

1. Page 310.

[1] [See cat 116, p 645 - ANALYST]

/376 cont./

252 The blood of slaughtered animals, either fresh or cooked,
262 is happily eaten. Cooked, it is also added to other dishes.

A meatless dish consists of ground millet which is mixed with green vegetables and maize meal to form dumplings and cooked in water.

252 The eggs of all birds are eaten raw or cooked.

/377/ Without anything further, it is obvious from these descriptions that the preparation of the meals can indeed not be designated as primitive. It can be assumed that in the regions of Indochina, which are in every respect more favorable, the Meau will not practice simpler cooking, since more things in larger quantities are available to them. Nevertheless, Lajonquière (1) writes: "The preparation of food is primitive.

1. II, p. 303.

Rice, maize, and the other cereals are eaten cooked in salted water or made into mush. Vegetables are usually cooked in water, and meat is roasted in kettles. We shall always remember our first visit to the kitchen of the Lytruong of Pakha. There, whole quarters of buffalo were roasting and cooking in tremendous kettles, without any other ingredients than a few handfuls of salt, a little water, and their own fat. It was immense in quantity, but ignoble in preparation."

Aside from the fact that the author probably did not ob-
[114] serve the preparation of food in detail, he is undoubtedly com-
[171] paring Meau cooking with Chinese cooking, or with Annamese
cooking, which is extensively influenced by the Chinese. In comparison with the excellent and highly sophisticated culinary art of these peoples, Meau cooking seems primitive indeed.

264 From Savina's description (2) we get an impression of

2. II, p. 192.

the everyday, very modest way of life of the Meau: "The Meau have two meals a day, one in the morning before going to the fields and one in the evening upon return. Often,

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/383 cont./

M The Meau are passionate opium smokers. The poor man
276 treats himself to his pipe on a holiday eve no differently than
[556] the workman among us does his beer. Rich people, on the
other hand, smoke every day. Nevertheless, I did not discover
any detrimental influence of the drug. The capacity for work
did not seem to have suffered; no Meau was "addicted" in the
true sense of the word. The harmfulness of opium, however,
M is well known to the Meau; this is also shown by the fact that
[562] the enjoyment of opium is prohibited for women, youth, and
[114] children. Nevertheless, the statements by Lajonquière (1) and
Abadie (2), that the Meau smoke only a little opium, are to be
considered, it seems to me, just as relative as the statement
by the first author that the Meau smoke less tobacco than the
Tho.

M In addition, in northern Thailand the drug is given in
[763] larger amounts to incurable patients, in order to make death
[757] easier for the patient under its influence.

A The Akha are perhaps even more passionately attached to
249 tobacco than the Meau. At any rate, the Akha, who otherwise
[276] very happily plant everything mixed together, lay out special
tobacco fields. The subsequent procedure, however, is more primitive than that of the Meau. The Akha cut off all the leaves of the tobacco plant, mix them together, make tight bundles of these green leaves, and wrap them in several layers of banana leaves. The leaves ferment in the course of time. Then the covering is removed and the tobacco leaves are cut into strips and dried, whereupon they are usually stored in bamboo containers.

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1. II, p. 303.

2. Page 160.

/401 cont./
283 string is produced from the thinner one. Heavy cord is obtained by twisting in rattan fibers by means of a wooden fork.
[237] The Meau twist strong ropes out of strips of skin, those of
bearskin being regarded as the strongest.

/402/ In addition to the twisting process, braid-like ropes,
[492] bands and wide belts for the saddles of the pack animals are
also plaited. For this purpose the Meau use three to twelve
threads each time. This plaiting is done solely with the hands
[412] and without any tool; only in the making of straps are iron
awls used for preliminary piercing.

286 The ancient Chinese literature (1) already mentions repeatedly that the Meau are good spinners, weavers, and dyers.
For the manufacture of the cloth for clothing, the Meau primarily use hemp, rarely cotton. They sow hemp (mǎn) in their
248 rice and poppy fields. Lajonquière (2) likewise mentions hemp
in Indochina and writes that the Meau there cultivate it at the
same time as maize and harvest it six to seven months after the
sowing. The fibers of banana leaves, on the other hand, were
never used, according to my observations and findings. And
[114] since I could find nothing about this anywhere else, a mistake
by Seidenfaden, who reported on it, must be assumed. Cotton
is cultivated in special fields and is used in a fashion similar
to that among the Akha (see pp. 441 f.).

The hemp seed is set out with the planting stick among
the Meau in northern Thailand; the period of cultivation falls
between the end of April and the beginning of May; the harvest
is about three months later. The stalks are cut with the sickle,
[283] the leaves are removed, and then the stalks are placed in water
so that they will rot. Afterward they are dried, and the woody

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1. North China Br., 1859, p. 264; Ch Hch'kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 38.

2. II, p. 311.

/404 cont./
286 spinning is finished, they bleach the thread with lime and
[184] stretch it for weaving on primitive frames that are quite similar
to those of the Thai and Chinese. It is believed that these
[171] frames are of Chinese origin. They make a coarse, wrinkled,
and strong cloth, which they make soft and shiny by means of
polished roller-stones."

[114] I must indeed oppose Savina's opinion that the looms of
171 the Meau are similar to those of the Chinese or of the other
[177] mountain peoples mentioned by him or are even of Chinese
origin. At any rate, this is not true for the Meau in northern
Thailand!

386 The strips of fabric produced on the looms are sewed to-
[294] gether by the Meau to make their clothing, after which the
dyeing process or the art of batik work (already mentioned by
249 Yü Chuluan) commences. The dyestuff is obtained from a
386 leafy plant more than a meter high, not, however, indigo, that
thrives near water in moist, swampy soil. The Meau plant the
shoots in the same manner as they plant sugar-cane. Since the
plant is a perennial, it can be harvested year after year. The
386 cut, green plant is put in water for two nights and one day, then
the plant parts are removed, slaked lime is added to the
solution remaining, and it is stirred vigorously. Now four
handfuls of this solution mixed with lime is added to a large
trough of water, whereupon the dyeing can begin. This
process is simple. The material is dipped into the water and
carefully soaked completely. Then it is allowed to dry, is
checked to see whether the desired blue shade /405/ has been
obtained, and the process is repeated until the color is satis-
factory.

386 Much more art and skill is required to provide the
531 material with batik patterns. For this a design in wax is put
on the still undyed material by the women with a special
[413] instrument consisting of a wooden handle and a three-edged
brass pen (Figs. 354 and 355), from the crevices of which the
applied wax flows, and, to be sure, in such a way that the
negative /Figs. 354-355 appear here/ of the pattern desired
is drawn on with the wax. In doing this, the woman holds the

/424 cont./

437 439 There are no articles that can only be bought with money or with a specific barter commodity. If a person does not have any /425/ silver, he is free to give opium, game, or field produce in payment instead, just as he may buy silver, that is, coins, by means of such articles (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law").

439 [443] [184] The Meau do not hold any markets of their own in northern Thailand and do not visit, in contrast to the Meau settled in Indochina, the markets of the Lao and Schan /Shan/ living in the valleys. Occasionally, to be sure, Lao traders appear among the Meau with their principal article of trade, salt, but usually the Meau undertake the journey in order to acquire the precious product from a Lao in the valley below or occasionally visit the Yau /Yao/ villages in order to buy silver ornaments, since the Yau enjoy a certain reputation as skilled silversmiths.

[184] 439 • 114 As a result of closer contact with the Chinese and Annamese, trade seems to be more highly developed among the Meau in Indochina. Concerning this, Lajonquière (1)
writes

1. II, p. 311.

writes: "They produce almost everything that is needed for their subsistence, but without getting any other advantage from it." Abadie (2), too, confirms this statement. Lajonquière con-

2. Page 161.

[273] [325] [326] [323] tinues: "Nevertheless, a few distill alcohol from maize and sago for the valley dwellers. Others produce spades and plowshares from the raw iron that they buy in the markets, and finally others make pottery. The manufacture of guns, which was formerly current among them, is gradually disappearing through the ease of importation."

/425 cont./

439 These observations are especially interesting because I
[114] found exactly the opposite among the Meau in northern
Thailand: they produce their guns themselves, but have no
326 knowledge of pottery!
323 The author continues his observations with a description
[184] of the trade: "Trade is restricted to a locality and limited to
bartering for a few things that are not part of their subsistence, namely, to certain luxury items, such as ornaments, colored silk, and ribbons. We have already mentioned that they are now beginning to buy even fabrics of European origin. In the region of Lao-Chay, a sector of Than-Thuy, they carry on a
[314] special trade in wood for the making of coffins. These are
fossilized woods (usually the tree of life, note by Dr. B.) which were buried by earthquakes and which petrified, a property that makes them sought by the Chinese, who like to bury their dead in such wood. The /426/ Meau of this region dig up these
[314] woods, cut them into thick planks, and drag these heavy loads
through forests and gorges in order to sell them on the 'T'ou-se-meo' of Mung-Tung."

At another place (1), Lajonquière comes back to the silk of foreign origin previously mentioned by him: "All
[596] clothing is made exclusively within the family. They procure
[294] from the outside only the colored silk for the embroideries and
the colorful bands which fops are beginning to add to their attire...
[286] The custom of buying cotton goods on the market or among the
natives who produce it is spreading more and more, for the weaving of hemp is difficult and laborious." We find this observation, too, confirmed by Abadie (2).

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1. II, p. 309.

2. Page 161.

/431/

Chapter 25

Time-reckoning and the Division of the Day

805 The Meau reckon by days. This is already shown by the designation for day, dǒ nǔ, literally, day-sun. The month, ǐs dǐ, of the Meau has thirty days; the year, tsǔn, is reckoned by moons. Twelve moons are one year. It begins with the new moon in December and is ushered in with tremendous festivals (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). If circumstances occur which prevent a [796] proper appreciation of the beginning of the new year, the festivities are postponed to a more suitable time.

805 114 171 [796] This custom seems to have given the impression among outside observers that the Meau have no calendar and celebrate the beginning of the new year at very different times (Savina (1)).

1. II, p. VII and p. 222.

Some people have even arrived at the view that the time reckoning of the Meau is of Chinese origin, as Lajonquière (2)

2. II, p. 314.

maintains, or even Dhuraratsadorn (3), who states concerning

3. Page 172.

this that the New Year's festival of the Meau coincides with that of the Chinese. On the contrary, the divided year of the Meau is fundamentally different from that of their neighbors, the Chinese, Yau /Yao/, Lahu (Mushō /Musso/), and Lisu, whose new year begins in January, or that of the Lao, which begins on April 14, and that of the Thailanders, which begins on March 31.

Miao AE5

/431 cont./

805 At any rate, I cannot agree with Savina (4), who writes

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4. II. p. 176.

as follows concerning the time reckoning of the Meau: "Do not ask a Meau for a fixed date; he does not know any, not even the day of his birth." Nor was I able to find confirmation for the Chinese assertion that the Meau recognize the seasons of the year, summer and winter. This may be different, however, among the Meau who inhabit the cold northern regions.

805 [527] I was also able to ascertain that the Meau do not have a division of the week, but to make up for that regard the twelfth day after every full moon as /432/ a holiday. On this day, they stay at home, take a rest from their work, and, as a sign of the [778] day of rest, put in front of every house entrance a sacral sign in honor of the spirits (Ill. 97).[1] For the Meau of northern Thailand, the observation by Savina (1) that they use the growth

1. II, p. 205.

of plants and the voices of birds as aids for their division of [825] time is very pertinent: "The Meau keep roosters that crow at night. They do not ask how late it is, but rather how many times the cock has crowed. In the morning the women get up [221] at the third crowing." The same author (2) continues: "All

2. II, p. 220.

[824] [825] tasks begin at the same time every year. The Meau do not use any calendar for this, but rely on certain trees and shrubs that bloom regularly at the same time every year. The first singing of the cuckoo is observed throughout the land. 'When the cuckoo sang last year, the maize was higher or lower than it is this year,' they say."

[1] [see cat 116, p663- ANALYST]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/438 cont./

A The division of men's and women's work is quite similar
462 among the Akha, who are not inferior to the Meau in industriousness.
[342] Among them, however, housebuilding is exclusively a
[313] task for the men, whereas the preparation of firewood, for which
[252] large trunks must often be chopped up, is one of the tasks reserved
for the women. Cooking and the hulling of rice in the
mortar are, to be sure, tasks of the Akha women, but the men
very commonly help them.

A No differently than among the Meau, there are scarcely
461 any tasks for the Akha children that are to be performed exclusively
857 by them; the situation in this respect is the same as among
the Meau.

/439/

Chapter 27

Anthropology

M When one considers the poor hygienic conditions in
165 association with the hardest physical labor (see the chapter,
"Medicine"), it is truly astonishing that one comes across relatively
many old people among the Meau. Also, I cannot agree
M with Marabail (1) who in his work advocates the view that the
145 [114] Meau grow old prematurely. On the contrary, I often marveled
that the women, in spite of their work load, which was too hard
M for them physically, and even though no notice was taken with
[841] regard to the menstruation periods, actually do not lose their
bloom any earlier than among our own people and in any case
much less rapidly than among the southern Europeans.

A The Akha as well as the Meau are definitely small in
M stature. From the 20 women and men measured, the average
141 heights amounted to:

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1. Page 463.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/439 cont./

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M
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	Meau:		Akha:
Men	1580 mm.	Men	1574 mm.
Women	1478 mm.	Women	1492 mm.
The tallest individual measured:			
Man	1642 mm.	Man	1683 mm.
Woman	1562 mm.	Woman	1511 mm.
The shortest individual measured:			
Man	1532 mm.	Man	1430 mm.
Woman	1431 mm.	Woman	1420 mm.

M
● 114
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If one considers that the stature of the Meau makes them one of the smallest of all the mountain peoples, he cannot agree with Scott (2), who maintains that with regard to the Meau it is

2. Page 589.

a matter of a "tall-statured race in relation to their neighbors." Savina's statements, too, as well as Abadie's (3), which maintain,

3. Page 151.

"Medium /440/ height for the men, short for the women." or those by Witek (1), based on figures taken from the literature,

1. Page 88.

of 1540 mm. to 1580 mm. for men and 1520 mm. to 1570 mm. for women among the Meau, seem too large to me, at least for the Thailand Meau. Lajonquière (2) comes closest,

2. II, p. 301.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M /440 cont./

114 describing the Meau as short of stature and with short legs.

141 The men of both peoples are slender and gracile; the women, especially those among the Meau, are plumper. I

M could not find any confirmation for Seidenfaden's (3) statement

142
114 3. II, p. 153.

that the Meau are powerfully and solidly built and have a tendency toward obesity.

M According to Marabail (4), the Meau is not tall and is

[141] 4. Page 453.

almost as white as the European; his forehead high, the eyes brown, his countenance alert and congenial. Marabail (4)

A /see footnote 4 above/ and Scott (5), and along with them

[114]
[142] 5. Page 589.

several other authors, make the assertion that, in general, the skin color of the female sex among the Meau and Akha is lighter than that of the males. I myself found the skin of the Meau light-yellowish. The skin of the Akha is always brownish,

A lacking the yellow tone. In the sun a dark brown with a reddish

142 cast develops. Scott's (5) /see footnote 5 above/ expressed

114 opinion that the darker skin color of the Akha comes about because of their aversion to bath water is not justified. Lowis, however, also speaks of a "dark-colored tribe of people."

A
M
143 The Mongolian spot is the rule among the Meau, as well as among the Akha, Yau /Yao/, Lahu, and Lisu; it disappears about five years after birth.

M
141 The skull of the Meau (Ills. 52 to 56)[1] is brachy- to mesocephalic, an observation that is confirmed by Schotter (6),

6. VI, p. 318.

A
141 too. Among the Akha (Ills. 1 to 5)[2] it is as a rule mesocephalic, but dolichocephalic types also occur sporadically among these people.

[1] [see cat. 116, pp 365-367 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " , pp 11-13 - "]

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/440 cont./

A
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Both sexes are characterized by a high, relatively vertical forehead, slightly sloping off toward the back in isolated cases. The frontal angle does not exceed or fall below the range of variation for Europoid races and as a rule is somewhat larger among the male sex than among the females. I did not find any skull formations such as are described by Seidenfaden (7). I therefore assume that this was a matter of pathological abnormalities.

A
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/441/ The face is characterized among both peoples by extraordinary individual variation. Otherwise, among the Meau, it is flat (Ill. 54), and among the Akha projecting toward the nose (Ill. 1). Neither among the Akha nor among the Meau did I find any prognathism of the lower part of the face, in contrast to Lowis, who speaks of the jaw of the Akha as unnaturally developed for the region. The zygomatic arches usually stand out sharply among the Meau, sometimes very sharply, less among the Akha and sometimes not at all.

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The chin among the Meau is generally round, often tapering below to a point, as among the Lapps. Among the Akha it extends more ovally, but it likewise often tapers to a point below.

The lower jaw among both peoples is gracile and slightly receding.

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The mouth among both peoples is wide, but it does not exceed the range of variation for Europoid peoples. Among the Meau it is often very small with extremely narrow lips, among the Akha not as small and often with considerably broader lips, and usually well-shaped among both peoples. Even among the Akha, however, protruding lips never occur, although the women in particular often have markedly broad lips. In general, the lips of the Akha are broader than those of the average European, but narrower than those of the Thai.

7. II. p. 154.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/442 cont./

A M 141 M [481] The legs of the Meau are short, especially those of the women. Short and very rapid steps are therefore the rule. The feet are narrow and strikingly small and gracile. /In contrast to this, the legs of the Akha are longer, but above all the feet are large and rather clumsy.

Among both peoples the arms seem long in relation to the legs; the hands are well-shaped and, like the feet, narrow and small. The hands of the Akha are likewise narrow, but large.

A M 142 The body hair among both tribes is black. But whereas it is almost absent among the Meau, particularly the arms and legs of the Akha are very hairy. Both peoples have only a slight development of pubic hair.

Among both the Akha and the Meau, the head hair is black, bristly, and has a bluish shimmer. M [143] The hair of the Meau is somewhat thicker than that of the Akha, the growth of hair very abundant, and baldness rare, not observed by me at all.

The hair of the men reaches down over the shoulders among both peoples, among the women often to the hips.

M 142 114 Witek (1) mentions, besides the black hair-color of the

1. Page 92.

Meau, also brown hair among the men and among the Meau women, besides black, also finds brown and even blond hair. Abadie (2), too, confirms /Ills. 80-85 appear here on unnum-

2. Page 151.

M [143] bered pages/ /443/ the not infrequent occurrence of blond and, in the case of albinos, white hair. In contrast to this I myself was unable to find a single case of any hair color other than black or bluish black.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/443 cont./

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144 up a light red under the crust on the cheeks of young girls. Such Europoid or Europiform elements also appear among the Lolo in Yunnan.

"The skin coloring of the people is often actually Europoid light. Under the /444/ armpit tones of 3, 7 and 10 (according to v. L. /von Luschan/) are very common, but the faces show 14-17, with a strong yellow tone that the table does not cover. The features of the Miao, however, are Sinoid, not at all Paleo-Mongoloid, and not even especially frequently Southern Sinoid. From the Central Sinoid type the range of variation goes to Tungoid flatness on the one hand and on the other hand to decidedly Europiform, narrow-faced, aquiline-nosed types."

This Europoid element is also reported for the closest relatives, according to Von Eickstedt -- direct ancestors would be better -- of the Meau, the Tjiang, still hardly investigated even today. Torrance, too, writes that the latter are definitely of a western and not Mongolian type."

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174 It is noteworthy that Von Eickstedt (1) confirms from the

1. II, p. 59.

anthropological aspects the assertions of the Meau concerning the absence of any close relationship with the Man (Yau /Yao/): "A glance at the broad, more delicate, light-yellow faces of the Man again shows, as in Nieng Pu, that racially they represent a quite different mixture. They are far more Southern Sinoid than the Miao." With this Von Eickstedt unequivocally refutes

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[114] Marabail's (2) assertion that the Meau, with all the differences

2. Page 131.

of the customs, are identical with the Yau /Yao/ (Man) in anthropological respects. Von Eickstedt (3) finally comes to

3. II, p. 53.

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144 174 the following general conclusion: "From an anthropological standpoint, the homeland and the linguistic relationships lead to the assumption that here it is a matter of another, second part of the Central Sinoids -- a second part besides the Thai -- which, in the eastern mountains of Central China, poured over or pushed out the older Mon-Khmer Paleo-Mongolians similar to the way that this happened in the western part through the Central Sinoid Thai."

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Chapter 28

Language

193 114 197 The language of the Meau is a monosyllabic tone language with five different tones. T[illegible]t expert on it, P. [illegible] Savina (1), writes concerning the language of the Meau that it is spoken with the nose as well as with the mouth and that it differs from all other languages. Marabail (2), too, stresses the independence of the "dialect" of the Meau. Savina emphasizes its dissimilarity in relation to the languages of the Lolo, Chinese, Annamese, Tho, and Yau /Yao/. Seidenfaden (3), on the other hand, doubts the dissimilarity of the languages of the Meau and Yau, just as the Census of Burma (4), in direct opposition to Savina, classifies the Meau language with the "Man Group," which

1. II, p. [illegible]

2. Page 131.

3. II. p. 198.

4. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 200.

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would be made up of solely the languages of the Yau (Man) and the Meau. Since, however, no linguistic samples from the Yau were offered by either author, no position on this can be taken.

According to the samples of the languages of the Meau and the other peoples settled in Thailand; Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Phi Tong Luang, Moken, White Karen, and finally the various Thai peoples, recorded by me, Savina's findings are essentially correct. For the time being, however, that means very little in view of our inadequate knowledge about the peoples of northern Burma and Assam. On this account, the conclusion drawn by Savina, that by reason of their language a very special exceptional position should be given to the Meau, also seems to me to be at least premature at the moment. On the other hand, the classification made by Major Davies and, probably following him, Lowis (5), according to which the Meau language is classified with the Mon-Khmer languages, is undoubtedly in error. [192] The comparative words offered by Davies do not mean much, since the Meau language certainly contains a multitude of loanwords from the language of the original inhabitants. The assertion by Marabail (6), who assumes that the syntax of the Meau language is identical with that of the Yau (Man) language, likewise means little, /446/ since no proof at all is offered for it. I myself for the present classify the Meau language with the Siamo-Chinese language group of the Indochinese language family, which also corresponds with Credner's (1) provisional classification.

5. I, pp. 40 ff.

6. Page 131.

1. II, p. 137.

Miao AE5

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114 197 Of the older authors, Davies and Clarke published short vocabularies, as did Dhuraratsadorn (2). By far the best and most comprehensive are the French-Meau and Meau-French dictionaries which Savina compiled. A comparison of these dictionaries with the surveys of the other authors on the one hand and my own linguistic data on the other hand shows considerable differences in places, which leads one to conclude that there are certain differences in the Meau speech of the various regions. Undoubtedly the Meau of the individual regions have taken over [192] a greater number of expressions from the Chinese and from the languages of other neighbors as loanwords. Since, however, as was said, these neighboring languages in large part have not yet been studied, no definite statements can be made concerning this, and all the less so, to be sure, since the accounts of the authors in question here, with the exception of Savina's publications of this type, give the impression of being very incomplete. It seems as though these authors were not completely familiar with the matter; misunderstandings in their conversations with the Meau can easily be imagined. After all, I myself in working with the Meau have dealt for the first time with a tone language, and a comprehension of it is by no means easy for European ears.

[797] Under these circumstances it is very regrettable that the missionaries working in South China, who have had contacts with the Meau for centuries, have so far, to my knowledge, published nothing concerning this language and in fact, for the most part, give instruction in Manchu. We are therefore completely dependent on the observations and conclusions of individual authors. According to Von Eickstedt (3), the languages of the Meo and Yau differ, to be sure, but are nevertheless closely related, at

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2. Page 175.

3. II, p. 57.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

M 114 197 /446 cont./
any rate, more closely related to each other than, say, to the Chinese or Thai, though, undoubtedly, here, too, there are deeper connections. Usually, the linguists solved this dilemma by regarding the Meau-Man group as an independent group next to the Chinese, Thai, and Mon-Khmer.

M 114 193 /447/ Seidenfaden (1) goes into the grammatical structure

1. II, p. 198.

of the language in greater detail. According to him, the various nouns do not have any gender and are not declined by time, mode, or number. In a sentence, the subject comes before the verb and the object after it, the adjective after the substantive and the adverb after the verb to which it relates. More information concerning the language can be found in Savina's work (2)

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2. II, pp. XIX-69.

and in his dictionaries already mentioned. Of special interest is his comparative word list, pp. 42 and 43, which gives expressions in the Meau, Man, Lolo, Thai, Annamese, Tibetan, Tatar, Malay, and Stieng. In this connection a reference should be made to my comparative word list of the kinship terms of the Meau, Akha, Lisu, Lahuna, Lahusi, Biet, Dseray /Jarai/, Radé /Radhe/, Karen, Lao, and South Thailand languages.

A 197 114 The language of the Akha has been provisionally classified by Lowis (3) in the "Lisu Subgroup" of the "Burman Group."

3. I, p. 85,

The Linguistic Survey of India (4) follows him and regards the

4. Pages 382 ff.

language of the Akha as related to the Lahu and Lihsaw (Lisu),

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/448 cont./

A M 114 197 Recapitulating, it must be stated that neither the language of the Meau or that of the Akha has been investigated scientifically. An urgent task for the linguistics of Farther India is to concern itself with the basic problems involved.

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Chapter 29

Writing

M 114 212 A [212] Whereas there is no information concerning any writing of the Akha, and the Akha groups studied by me had no letters at all, the information available concerning the writing of the Meau is rather contradictory.

Lajonquière (1), Abadie (2), and Dhuraratsadorn (3)

1. II, p. 321.

2. Page 151.

3. Page 171.

regard the Meau as complete illiterates. It is said that there are only very few Meau who know a few and at that Chinese characters, which they pronounce with Chinese phonetics. It is reported of other Meau in China that they write and speak Chinese (4). M [191]

4. Ch Hch'kfsch, Vol. II, Ch. 10, p. 42.

M [175] In any case, these authors say nothing about the Meau having a writing of their own. In contrast to this, Seidenfaden (5)

5. II, p. 195.

/449 cont./

114 mentions that Vicomte D'Ollone, on the basis of his voyages
212 of exploration through unknown areas of China in the years
[175] 1906 to 1909, confirmed that the Meau not only had writing,
but also written traditions. A writing peculiar to the Meau
is also mentioned by another party (6), but these very general

[173] remarks could not be verified. Other authors report that the
Meau, according to their oral traditions, had had writing, to
be sure, but had lost it. Such a tradition was not known to the Meau in Thailand visited by me. For the time being, I regard solely the statements of the older authors about the occasional use of Chinese characters as probable; the publications of D'Ollone were not available to me up to the time of publication of the present work.

/450/ Chapter 30

Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes

161 The history of the Meau shows that they were driven
175 out of their original homeland and in places were completely
648 destroyed. To be sure, this destruction was primarily an
ethnic and not a biological death. Thus, it is certain that the southern Chinese have absorbed a considerable amount of Meau blood. In this case, however, the Meau have disappeared as an ethnic unit, so that their descendants do not in any way differ culturally from the Chinese.

161 Wherever the Meau were not destroyed by violent
measures on the part of their neighbors, however, they have increased greatly and quickly, although, to be sure, epidemics and famines occasionally interrupted this rapid increase in
population. At any rate the large number of offspring (an
[163] average of seven children per family in my area of work) and
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6. Nan-chao, pp. 187 ff.

Miao AE5

/454 cont./

101 162 291 184 small tribes, about a dozen in all. Then he goes on to say: "We are far from the 40 or more tribes which some like to enumerate." According to him, the tribes differ only in the color and form of the clothing, to the peculiarity of which the names White, Black, Yellow, Green, Striped Meau, and Meau With Horns are to be traced back. The name of the last-named tribe is said to be derived from the horn-shaped hairdo. Otherwise, each tribe is said to have special customs and a language only somewhat divergent. Seidenfaden (5), too, says that the

5. II, p. 101.

Meau tribes differ from one another principally in the attire of the women.

101 162 114 If some authors report a strikingly large number of Meau tribes, there can be no doubt that they included other mountain peoples, for example, the Yau, Lisu, and perhaps the Lolo tribes, with the Meau. This problem, however, cannot be finally settled until ethnographic fieldwork, for Kweichow at any rate, is completed, at least in broad outlines, /455/ for the investigation of the mountain peoples of South China has not yet gone beyond the first beginnings.

101 162 291 184 According to my own experience, in the case of the various Meau tribes it is only a matter -- at least in Thailand -- of very slight differences in the clothing of local groups, which cannot by any means be regarded as independent tribes. Moreover, tribal names seem to have developed from nicknames which were given to individual Meau sibs. Such nicknames cannot, of course, be given the value of a true tribal designation.

In Thailand I myself had the opportunity to investigate three of the so-called Meau tribes, the White, the Black, and the Flowery Meau. My Lao informants tried to explain the name of the Black Meau by the lack of cleanliness of these families in particular. This did not correspond with the facts, however, inasmuch as the cleanliness among all the Meau tribes known to me leaves much to be desired, and the "White Meau" do not distinguish themselves in any way by special cleanliness. At

39: Bernatzik--649 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

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(Die grosse Völkerkunde (1)) with the problems relating to this;

1. Vol. II, pp. 198 ff.

/479/ in the same place I have also discussed the problem of the original population. The migration of a third group of peoples, and to be sure that of the Thai peoples, on the other hand, can already be followed historically and prehistorically. The valleys and lowlands demonstrably formed the migration routes for these peoples; this can also be assumed for the earlier waves of peoples. On the other hand, the most recent migratory movement, which is still in progress today in Farther India and especially in Thailand, is being carried out by the true mountain peoples, such as the Meau, Akha, Yau /Yao/, Lahu, Lisu, and Katschin /Kachin/. The direction has probably remained the same, but the migration routes now run on the tops of the mountains. I have tried to explain the reason for the strange fact that these peoples obviously avoid the lowlands in the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand." In the present volume I have now dealt with this, to me seemingly important problem of the mountain peoples and in so doing have discussed the Meau in particular, as by far the strongest representative, both in number and vitality, of this group of peoples, as well as the Akha.

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As is brought out in the chapter, "History," we are able to follow the Meau over a span of time of almost 4,500 years. To be sure, the old sources must be evaluated critically since they deal with testimonies of the Chinese, who from ancient times have been at war with the Meau. Moreover, the descriptions of customs in these sources are very scanty and presumably mention only cultural elements that differ from those of the Chinese. In addition, they are faulty, since the authors frequently confused the various mountain tribes. In the literature of the past decades, which we owe primarily to European observers, those cultural elements that strike the casual traveler,

Akha A04
Miao AE5

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such as clothing and settlements, are always dealt with, but everything else is almost totally ignored. I therefore strove to record all the cultural elements of the Meau, as well as those of their neighbors, the Akha, within my area of investigation, in order to create, at long last, an unobjectionable basis for research. It is shown from these elements presented by me in the present work that the Meau culture is by no means to be regarded as homogeneous culture, but rather as a mixed one. The various cultural influences correspond to the migration routes known from the history of the Meau. Cultural goods from Mongolia and Siberia and such of Tibetan /480/ origin are frequently mixed with Chinese elements. In judging the latter, caution is required, because the early Chinese also absorbed cultural possessions of the Meau; therefore elements that today are regarded as Chinese in origin may conversely stem from the Meau. The anthropology confirms the cultural picture. It is regrettable that, despite various existing studies, the language of the Meau, like that of the Akha, has not been unequivocally classified by comparative linguists and therefore could only partially be drawn upon for proof. The works of other authors also supplement my observations. Koppers (1) and Shirokogoroff, for instance, indicate cultural connections with the Tungus. Eberhard (2) rejects a uniform Meau culture and speaks of a mixed culture in which elements of the Chuang and Yau predominate. He also mentions Tibetan influences. On the other hand, I cannot agree with his proposal to regard the Meau as originally Yau who have strongly interbred with the Chuang and are only secondarily overlaid with Wuman, as well as viewing the Fan as alleged ancestors of the Meau, since the old Chinese sources, which he used as evidence, are too unreliable for the reasons already discussed, but above all the

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1. Pages 304 ff.

2. II, pp. 271 and 274.

Miao AE5

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cultural elements drawn upon for proof are too few in number and moreover in large part not characteristic for the Meau, and are often to be regarded as environmentally conditioned. 174 [114]

It is an interesting question whether the Meau may be classed in the circle of those peoples whose very ancient cultures are brought into relief from their surroundings by, among other things, megaliths, certain forms of animal sacrifice, and head-hunting. It is well-known that this culture is still alive today among the Naga and wild Wa and their neighbors. Relics in many places in Farther India, Hindustan, Indonesia, and beyond into the South Seas and traces in northwestern Europe, North Africa, and the Near East show that its spread must have been far greater in former times. -- I myself was able to identify the so-called "Moi peoples" of Indochina as belonging to this group, as I shall report in detail in another place. Judging by the available facts, there can be no doubt that the Meau do not belong to this cultural complex, even if the /481/ classification of the Meau language with the Mon-Khmer languages (see the chapter, "Language"), which is absolutely erroneous in my opinion, should be proved correct.

[325] For the question of the origin of the culture of the Meau, a bronze drum allegedly made by the Meau and cast by dead mold, which is in the possession of the ethnographic museum in Vienna and has not yet been described up to now,* is of special

[534] significance. The shape of the drum is shown in Figures 423 and 424. The diameter of the striking surface is 70.5 centimeters. The drum is hollow, open at the bottom, and four bronze handles are attached to the side walls. It belongs to the group of bronze drums that Heger discussed in his work, Alte Metalltrommeln aus Südostasien /Old Metal Drums from Southeast Asia/. /Fig. 423 appears here./ /482/ The drum [532]

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* During the printing of the present work, a few statements about this drum by F. M. Schnitger appeared in the Archiv für Anthropologie, 1943, Vol. XXVIII, p. 141.